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HISTORIC NOTES
ON
THE BOOKS
OF THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

BY
SAMUEL SHARPE.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following short notes are neither theological nor devotional. They are an attempt to explain, by means of the history, the circumstances under which the several books, and portions of books, were written, and the times when the writers lived. Such knowledge forms no part of our religion; but it may help us to understand the opinions of the writers, and even the lessons in religion which we should draw from their works. A complete commentary on the Bible should contain many parts. One part should be theological, and show the views which each writer in the Scriptures teaches us of God's nature and attributes, and of his dealings with man. A second should be ethical, and explain the moral teachings, and our duties to one another. A third should be an account of the manuscripts; and a fourth, grammatical, to explain the language of these most ancient writings. A fifth should be historical, to explain the history of the books by means of the history of the nation. Such is the aim of the present work; and, by so confining it, the author avoids the difficult subjects of the inspiration, miracles, prophecies of a Messiah, and the authority now due to

the Mosaic law since the introduction of Christianity. Other divisions of the subject might be mentioned, such as the geography and natural history. They are all necessary to a full understanding of the Bible, but not all equally important. So great, indeed, is the difference in their importance, that a writer, who confines his commentary to one of the lower branches, feels it necessary to apologise to his readers for omitting what is so much more valuable.

The arguments for fixing the age of any book, or portion of a book, rest upon the comparison of the history therein mentioned, whether directly or indirectly, with the political state of the nation as known from the other books. In stating these arguments, the Author will perhaps seem to some readers to be too short, and to have given the reasons for forming his opinions too scantily. But he supposes his readers well acquainted with the Bible; and therefore he has contented himself, when putting forward his opinion, with leaving to the reader the task of completing the argument for himself, by the help of the passages referred to, as well as of weighing how far the circumstances mentioned support the opinion advanced.

Highbury Place, 21st July, 1858.

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HISTORIC NOTES

ON

THE BOOKS

OF

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE Old Testament contains the religious writings of a nation which is distinguished, above every other nation in the world, for its having always held more just views of religion than its neighbours. While other nations were worshipping a crowd of gods, some good and some bad, the Israelites acknowledged one only Creator and Governor of the universe. While the Egyptians worshipped animals, and statues of their own making, the Israelites sacrificed to a spiritual Being, all-powerful, and eternal, and self-existent. As their neighbours grew wiser from century to century, and the Greek philosophers improved upon the older and grosser views of religion, the Israelites grew wiser also, and were still much in advance, and had discovered that the Almighty did not need the slaughter of rams and bullocks, but was to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and would accept no sacrifice but that of a humble mind. And, lastly, while the Pagans were still bewildered in doubt, and were scoffing at all that they themselves called holy, Christianity itself was being preached by Jews in Galilee, in Judea, in Asia Minor, and even in Rome and Athens.

Thus the history of the Jewish religion is almost necessary to the full understanding of Christianity. Through the whole of their books shines that devout trust in God which is so peculiar to their nation. Their devotion was never weakened by a divided worship. They saw the hand of Jehovah in every event in life, and thus the chronicles of the nation became lessons in religious wisdom.

The collection of Hebrew books owes its English name to a mistake in the translation. It ought to be called the Old Covenant. The Book of Deuteronomy was first called the Book of the Covenant, when published in the reign of Josiah. *See 2 Kings xxiii, 2.* But after the spread of Christianity, the collected Hebrew Scriptures were called the Old Covenant, the name used by the Apostle Paul, in 2 Cor. iii, 14; and thence the Christian Scriptures were, for distinction's sake, named the New Covenant. The Old Testament contains writings of various ages; some perhaps as early as the year B.C. 1300, the time of Moses; and others as modern as the year B.C. 53, after Jerusalem was conquered by the Romans under Pompey. It contains books written in every century between those two dates, and indeed it contains all that is left to us of the Hebrew writings of those centuries.

But the books do not differ in language so much as we should expect from the difference of their age. We must suppose that, every time they were copied, the scribe acted as an editor. He altered the spelling and the words, when they were too old to be understood. He added now and then a few words to explain what seemed to need explanation. He sometimes added large portions, and inserted them in the middle of the narrative in the places to which they seemed best fitted.

We may judge of the fate of Hebrew manuscripts by a comparison with the Greek version, and from the better known history of the New Testament manuscripts. In every case, that which was most full, and had received most additions, was most valued. The

shorter manuscripts perished through neglect. It was hardly before the time of the Reformation that the more ancient manuscripts of the Bible were thought more valuable than the newer. Thus, most of the books consist of an older portion with later additions; and we must never suppose the whole of a work modern because some part of it is so. We must endeavour to separate every book into the several portions, and study each by itself, and assign to each its own date, by the help of the historic circumstances therein mentioned, and of the state of the nation as therein described. A book that is quoted by another is, of course, more ancient than that which quotes it. One which describes Ephraim and Manasseh as the ruling tribes, is earlier than those which call Judah the chief of the nation. On the other hand, one that mentions Jewish kings is, of course, more modern than the establishment of the monarchy; one which mentions the temple is not more ancient than David's reign; one that bewails the captivity is not more ancient than that great national misfortune. So also with the changes in religion and philosophy; a book which speaks of the uselessness of ceremonies is likely to be more modern than one that enjoins them.

The books were not all written in the same spot. Part of Jeremiah and two or three Psalms were written in Egypt; part of Ezekiel in Babylon; Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and most of the Prophets, in Jerusalem; parts of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, perhaps in Shechem or Samaria and Hebron, which were the capitals before the time of David. Part of the Book of Joshua may have been written in Hebron, and part of Samuel possibly in Jabesh Gilead.

The Old Testament may be most conveniently divided into four portions, not very unequal in size, namely,

(1.) The LAW, or PENTATEUCH, containing,

Genesis,
Exodus,

Leviticus,
Numbers,

Deuteronomy.

(2.) The HISTORICAL BOOKS, or,

Joshua,	2 Samuel,	Ezra,
Judges,	2 Kings,	Nehemiah,
Ruth,	2 Chronicles,	Esther.

(3.) The POETICAL BOOKS, or,

Job,	Proverbs,	Song of Solomon.
Psalms,	Ecclesiastes,	

(4.) The PROPHETICAL BOOKS, or,

Isaiah,	Joel,	Habakkuk,
Jeremiah,	Amos,	Zephaniah,
Lamentations,	Obadiah,	Haggai,
Ezekiel,	Jonah,	Zechariah,
Daniel,	Micah,	Malachi.
Hosea,	Nahum,	

Of these, the last twelve are called the Minor Prophets.

The first time that we hear of any of these books having been put together to make one whole, is when the "Book of the Lord" is quoted in Isaiah xxxiv, 16, which chapter may have been written about the time of the return from captivity, B.C. 536. The next mention of them is in the Second Book of Maccabees, which was written about the year B.C. 130, where we are told that on the return from the captivity, Nehemiah founded a library, and gathered together whatever could be found of the sacred books. These books are described in 2 Maccabees, ii, 13, as of four classes. These are,

- (1.) The Books of Kings.
- (2.) The Writings of David.
- (3.) The Writings of the Prophets.
- (4.) The Epistles of the Kings concerning Gifts to the Altar.

In these we recognise three of the four divisions of our Bible, and they may have also contained the Pentateuch or Law. The fourth seems meant for the Letters from the Persian kings mentioned in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The Pentateuch or Law is not mentioned, probably because it had never been lost; and when Ezra read to the people out of the "Book of the

Law of Moses," we find the words which he read are in Deuteronomy (Nehem. viii, 1, 14, 15).

















The loss of some of these books before the time of Nehemiah, and his bringing them together again, will explain the state in which they are now found. In particular the scattered pages of Isaiah have been put together without regard to the order in which they were written, and they have portions of two or three other writers mixed up with them. Copies of these books were afterwards sent into Egypt, in the reign of the second Ptolemy, to be translated into Greek; and the Septuagint version was then made, of which several manuscripts are now remaining.

During the wars which followed the rise of the Syrian power, when, on the death of the second Ptolemy, the kings of Syria struggled with the kings of Egypt for the sovereignty of Judea, Jerusalem was repeatedly entered by foreign armies, the temple was plundered of its treasures, and these books were destroyed or lost. When, however, the Jews were again independent under Judas Maccabæus, he got together other copies of the sacred books.

The letters by means of which these earliest of books were written were probably nearly the same as those now in use, and known as the square Hebrew characters. The reasons for so judging are, that neither the Rabbinical letters, nor the Samaritan letters are so simply pictorial in form, nor do they so closely resemble the Egyptian hieroglyphics from which all the neighbouring alphabets seem to have been copied either directly or indirectly. Moreover, the antiquity of the square Hebrew letters may be further defended by our showing that the Persian arrow-headed characters used in the inscriptions of the reign of Darius were directly copied from them.

The following are the Egyptian hieroglyphics which seem to have been chosen by the Hebrews as the model for their letters. We remark that in five cases the position of the letters has been changed, that which was lying down has been made to stand upright; and that

for six of the Hebrew letters we do not look for hieroglyphic originals, because their forms are borrowed from other Hebrew letters, by the side of which they are here placed.

a		א
p		ב פ
g		ג
d, t		ד
e, h		ה ת
f, v		ו
z		ז
t, th		ט
i		י
k		כ ק
l, r		ל ר
m		מ
n		נ
s, sh		ס
n		ע
s, sh		ש ז

ON THE PENTATEUCH.

THE first five Books in the Hebrew Bible have been named The Books of Moses, or The Law, and in Greek The Pentateuch. In Nehemiah viii, 1, we find one or all of them called "The Book of the Law of Moses." From this the name has been shortened to "The Books of Moses," and thence Moses has been thought to be the

author. But they are of various ages, the greater part certainly more modern than Moses, and part, perhaps, more ancient. They are the oldest writings in the world, except the Hieroglyphics carved on the Egyptian temples. They may be conveniently divided into two parts. The *First Part* is the Book of Genesis, which contains two accounts of the Creation of the World, an account of the origin of evil, and a traditional history of the family of Israelites, from their migration out of Chaldea, until their settlement in Lower Egypt. The *Second Part* consists of the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which together form a short history of the Israelites in Egypt, and of their march out of that country, and contain the body of Jewish law. Most of this law has been added at various times to the history of the march, in the form of speeches or commands spoken either by the Lord to Moses, or by Moses to the people. The three longest of these inserted portions form two of the books of the Pentateuch, namely, Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

ON THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

WE have no account of when this first of the Hebrew books was written, nor by whom. It has been called one of the books of Moses; and some small part of it may have been written by that great lawgiver and leader of the Israelites. But it is the work of various authors and various ages. The larger part, in its present form, seems to have been written when the people dwelt in Canaan and were ruled over by judges, when Ephraim and Manasseh were the chief among the tribes. It is more modern than the history of the march out of Egypt in Exodus and Numbers. But the author may have had older writings to guide him in his history. It is evident also in numerous places that other writers, far more modern, have not scrupled to make their own

additions. We must divide it into several portions, and each portion will best explain itself.

Chap. i-ii, 3. *The Creation*.—This is an account of God's forming the world out of an original shapeless mass, by separating the light from the darkness, and the water from the dry land. God then made the plants, the sun, moon, and stars, fishes, birds, and beasts, and lastly, man and woman after his own image. To their service he gave the rest of the creation, and bade them be fruitful and multiply themselves over the earth.

The creation was the work of six days, and on the seventh the Creator rested. The day is reckoned from sunset to sunset, according to the Jewish custom. The whole is told with grand simplicity; and modern writers on the sublime, from Longinus downwards, have been able to produce few finer instances of the kind than the words of this early writer; "And God said, Let there be light; and there was light."

Chap. ii, 4.—iv. *The Creation and Fall of Man*.—This is a second history of the creation of the heavens and the earth, with an account of the origin of evil. God is here named Jehovah.

The earth is at first watered not by rain, but by water which rose out of it. A man is formed, Adam, and then a woman, Eve, as a helpmate for him; they are placed in the Garden of Eden, at the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates. From this garden two other rivers flow, one of which makes a circuit round the land of Cush or Ethiopia, and the other round Havilah or Arabia.

In this garden Jehovah gives them leave to eat of every fruit but one; this one is forbidden to them on pain of death. But the serpent tempts the woman to taste the forbidden fruit, and then the woman tempts the man. By yielding to this temptation they lose their innocence, and, as a punishment, are driven out of the garden to bear the labours and sorrows of mortal life: and the serpent is cursed to creep upon his belly and bear the enmity of mankind. After leaving the Garden

of Eden, Adam and Eve have three sons, of whom Cain, the eldest, becomes a tiller of the soil, and murders Abel, the second, who is a keeper of cattle.

[There is much in this history of the origin of sin and evil to show that the writer had the opinions of the Egyptians in his mind. He adopts some of them, he contradicts others. He names the Creator, Jehovah God, as though to distinguish him from the gods of the pagans. The land is watered, like Egypt, without the help of rain. The Egyptians thought marriage less holy than celibacy; and it is probable that, under the allegory of the forbidden fruit, the writer here meant to blame marriage. The first pair have no children till after they had fallen from their state of innocence. On the Egyptian monuments we find the serpent mentioned as the enemy of mankind. The husbandman also is here said to be older than the herdsman, agreeably with the greater antiquity of the Egyptian civilisation over that of the Israelites. But, on the other hand, had the writer been an Egyptian he would have made the agriculturist good and the herdsman wicked, for the Egyptian tillers of the soil always felt themselves robbed by their wandering neighbours who kept flocks; and shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians. This is the only place in the Old Testament in which an attempt is made to explain the origin of evil in the world. In all the other Hebrew writings Jehovah is acknowledged to be the author of all things; "I cause peace and I create evil," says Jehovah, in Isaiah xlv, 7.]

Chap. v-ix. *Noah and the Flood*.—Here the genealogy of mankind is given from Adam, the first man, to Noah, in whose days God was so far displeased with the world's wickedness, that he determined to destroy it by water. He gives Noah directions to make an Ark or ship, in which he is to save himself and his family and a pair of every kind of animal. The earth is then drowned by rain, and it remains one hundred and fifty days under water; and, when the waters retire, Noah lands on Mount Ararat in Armenia. From hence, the same country as that from which Adam and Eve before

issued, he and his three sons a second time people the earth.

Chap. x, 1–20. *The Birth of the Nations.*—Of Noah's three Sons, Japhet is the father of Gomer, *the Cimerians*; of Magog, *the Scythians*; of Madai, *the Medes*; of Javan, *the Ionians or Greeks*; of Tiras, *the Thracians*; of Tarshish, *Tarsus*; of Chetim, *Cyprus*; and Dodanim, *Rhodes*. Ham is the father of Canaan and Sidon; of Mizraim, *the Egyptians*; of Cush, *the Arabs*, from Sheba on the Red Sea to Dedan on the Persian Gulf; and of Nimrod, *the Babylonians and the Assyrians*.

Chap. x, 21—xi, 9. *The Descendants of Shem, and the Tower of Babel and Confusion of Tongues.*—A list of the children of Shem is given in chap. xi, 10, xxii, 20–24, and xxv, 1–18, to complete the list of Noah's descendants; but here they are inserted by a more modern writer with greater knowledge of geography and of languages, but in a manner wholly contradicting the above list of the sons of Ham and Japhet. According to this more modern writer, the sons of Shem are, Elam, *the northern Persians*; Ashur, *the Assyrians*; Lud, *the Lydians*; Aram, *the Syrians*; and Eber, *the Hebrews*. And Eber not only includes the Hebrews proper, or Israelites, but also the Arabs, who, in the former account, had been given to Ham; as Joktan, *or Arabia Felix*; Sheba and Hadoran, *Hadramaut*; Havilah, *near the Persian Gulf*; with Ophir, *on the coast of Nubia*; and Hazarmaveth, *perhaps Auxum in Abyssinia*.

The children of Noah, after the flood, move into the plain of Shinar, between the Tigris and Euphrates, where they build the Tower of Babel, or Babylon, from which spot Jehovah thought fit to disperse them over the face of the earth.

[These sentences, with this knowledge of geography, could hardly have been written before Solomon's voyage down the Red Sea; while the former account of the births of the nations, chap. x, 1–20, must be very much more old. In this second account, all the nations speaking an Arabic, or Syriac, dialect, are called sons of Shem. In the country of Elam, which is on the

north-western side of Persia, the language was not Persian, but more near to the Babylonian and Assyrian.]

Chap. xi, 10–32. *The Descent of Abraham from Shem.*—Here follows a list of the descendants of Shem in a right line to Abraham, in continuation of chap. x, 20.

Chap. xii–xxxv. *The History of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.*—Abraham removes from Ur in Chaldea, the seat of his family, to the land of the Canaanites.

From thence he is driven with his flocks and servants by the famine into Lower Egypt, already a rich country, governed by Pharaoh, *the King*, who is surrounded by his princes. On his return, he and his nephew Lot agree to part; Abraham settles in the hill country near Hebron, and Lot in the valley of the Jordan. There Lot is taken prisoner on an invasion by the Kings of Elam or Persia, and Shinar or Babylon; but he is rescued by Abraham, who pursues the invaders and defeats them at Hobab near Damascus (xiv).

Jehovah then promises Abraham that, though at present childless, he shall be the father of a great nation, who will dwell in slavery [in Egypt] for four hundred years; but will regain the land of Canaan in the fourth generation; after which they shall rule from the Euphrates to the Nile [as under Solomon] (xv).

Abraham's first child is by Hagar, an Egyptian woman; he is named Ishmael (xvi). But God promises him a son by his wife Sarah (xvii, xviii). Sodom and Gomorrah are then destroyed by brimstone and fire from heaven. Lot, who escaped from the destruction, has two children, Moab, the father of the Moabites; and Benammi, the father of the Ammonites (xix). Abraham then dwells between Kadesh and Shur, that is, between Palestine and Egypt. There Isaac is born; and Ishmael is driven away to live in the desert of Paran, and be the father of a great nation (xxi).

To prove Abraham's faith, God orders him to kill Isaac in sacrifice; but on the father's showing his willingness to obey, and binding him to the altar on Mount Moriah, the child is spared (xxiii). He sends to Mesopotamia to fetch a wife for his son Isaac from among his

kindred (xxiv). He himself marries again, and gives birth to Jokshan, and Medan, and Sheba, and Dedan, and other Arabic tribes, who are thus declared to be yet more closely related to the Israelites than they were in chap. x, 21-32. Ishmael's children are Nebaioth, Kedar, Dumah, Tema, and other Arabic tribes, between Shur, on the borders of Egypt, and Havilah (xxv).

Isaac's wife gives birth to Esau and Jacob, the fathers of two nations; and Esau, the eldest, sells his birthright to Jacob. Esau marries two wives of the nation of the Hittites. Jacob, by a deceit, gains from his father the blessing that was meant for his eldest brother; and of Esau it is foretold that his race will have to serve his brother's race, but a time will come when they will be able to throw off the yoke (xxvii). Jacob is warned not to marry a Hittite; and Esau, besides his Hittite wives, marries an Ishmaelitic wife, a sister of Nebaioth (xxviii). Jacob marries two Syrian wives, and two of their handmaids, and has twelve sons; Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, by the first wife; Joseph and Benjamin by the favourite wife; and Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher, by the handmaids. Jacob gains the name Israel, or *wrestling with God*, and settles at Hebron, where his father Isaac was living (xxxv).

Chap. xxxvi. *On the Edomites*.—Esau, or Edom, gives birth to the tribes of Edomites about Mount Seir. Seir, the Horite, gives birth to the tribes about Mount Hor. Eight Kings of Edom are named, who reigned before there were kings in Israel.

[Hadar, or Hadad, the last of these kings, was probably the child that was driven to seek his safety by flight from David's troops (1 Kings xi, 17). The seven previous reigns will occupy the time of the seven generations from Moses to David, the time during which the Israelites had been acquainted with Edom.]

Chap. xxxvii-1. *The History of Jacob's Family*.—Joseph, the favourite son, dreams that his brothers are to be in obedience to him; and they therefore hate him, and sell him as a slave to a company of Midianite merchants, who were trading between Gilead and Egypt.

The Midianites then sell him to a captain in Pharaoh's guard.

In Egypt, Joseph is thrown into prison on the accusation of his master's wife (xxxix). There he gains great credit by interpreting the prophetic meaning of the dreams of two of his fellow prisoners (xl). He is then sent for to interpret the King's dreams, which he explains to mean that there will be a seven years' famine after seven years of plenty. Thereupon he is appointed by the King to be his prime minister, and to store up corn for the nation (xli).

Joseph's brethren come down to Egypt to buy corn. There they are recognised by Joseph, though they do not recognise him in his high station. He sends them back home to fetch their youngest brother, Benjamin (xlii). When they bring Benjamin, Joseph tells them who he is (xliii, xlv).

He sends them again back to Canaan to bring their old father Jacob, who then settles with his whole family in the land of Egypt (xlvi, 12).

In the severity of the famine the Egyptians sell their lands to the King for food, and thereby Joseph changes the tenure of the soil throughout Lower Egypt (xlvi).

Joseph has two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, whom he brings to Jacob to be blessed: but old Israel lays his right hand on Ephraim, the younger, and his left hand on Manasseh, the elder, saying that Ephraim should be the greater nation (xlviii).

Jacob then gives a prophetic opinion about his sons. Reuben is not to be great. Simeon and Levi are to be shunned for their violence, and to be scattered among the rest; Judah is to be the leader; Zebulon is to be on the coast; Issachar is to be a servant; Dan shall avenge his people; Gad shall attack in the rear; Asher shall be rich in food; Naphtali is a spreading tree; Joseph is to be the chief of his brethren; and Benjamin, like a wolf, shall seize his prey (xlix).

Jacob, on his death, is embalmed, and sent to be buried in Hebron, but Joseph is buried in Egypt (l).

[Of these several portions of the Book of Genesis, the second account of the Creation, including the Garden of Eden and the fall from a state of innocence, may perhaps be the oldest. Next in age may be the history of Joseph and of his rule over Egypt; but this seems hardly so old as the history of Moses and of his leading the Israelites out of Egypt, as told in the Books of Exodus and Numbers. The attempts to explain the descent of nations is more modern. The literature of a people always begins with the history of some stirring event, like the Israelites marching out of Egypt. To this the traditional history of the nation in its cradle, when settling in Egypt under Joseph, is afterwards added in a preface.

The history of Joseph is marked with a simplicity and stamp of antiquity which is wanting in much of the earlier part. But from this we must separate the genealogical portion as more modern. That Jacob was Israel, the father of all Israelites; that the twelve tribes were named after his ten sons and two grandsons; that the two greatest tribes were children of Joseph, the prime minister, is an after addition to the beautiful history of Joseph. It is more probable that the historian took the names of the patriarchs from those of the tribes, as this was clearly the case with some of them. The tribe of Asher was so called because the people were many of them Assyrians or Syrians. The tribe of Beni-amin, or *sons of Amin*, took their name from the neighbouring Ammonites. The tribe of Reu-ben were *sons of Reu*, a name for a Moabite, which we may trace in its feminine form in the Moabite Ruth. The other names are not so easily explained, though Ephraim, Levi, and Naphtali are clearly plural forms, and as such belong to tribes. The date of some of these additions may be guessed from the history of the nation. They were written before the establishment of the monarchy, while Ephraim and Manasseh were yet the chief tribes. Jacob's opinion of his sons, in chap. xlix, was written in the time of Samuel, before the Levites became holy, and when the tribe of Benjamin was in front of every

battle. And if part of the praise of Judah seems too great for that age, before Judah was the royal tribe, we must suppose those words a later addition. Upon the whole, it seems probable that the Book of Genesis, as we now have it, was put together in the time of Samuel; and that the writer made use of at least four earlier pieces of writing, namely, the history of the Creation and the Fall of Man, in chap. ii-iv, the history of the Creation in chap. i, and the history of the Deluge in chap. v-ix, and the history of Jacob and Joseph in chap. xxxvii-l.

The list of Arab tribes descended from Shem, in chap. x, 21-32, is a later addition after Solomon's voyages had added to the nation's knowledge of geography. Equally modern are the nation's limits and the geographical knowledge in chap. xiv and xv. The writer who put into their present shape these early traditions about the nation, had very little knowledge of contemporary history. He makes Abraham travel without difficulties or dangers from Syria beyond the river to Egypt, through countries peopled with a variety of quarrelling tribes. And he describes him as the father of many of these tribes which we find, no later than in the lifetime of his grandson Jacob, already occupying their proper place in history. In this way the traditions respecting the origin of the nations have been mixed up with the traditions of a single family. Abraham's building his altar on Mount Moriah, where Solomon built his temple, and the derivation given to the name of the place Jehovah-Jireh, which was afterwards called Jeru-Salem, are clearly modern. Indeed his journey into Egypt could hardly have been written earlier than when the prophet Hosea, speaking of Moses, had said, "I called my son out of Egypt."]

ON THE BOOK OF EXODUS.

THIS book contains the history of the sufferings of the Israelites in Egypt; of the efforts made by Moses to obtain leave from the King for their departure; of their journey out of Egypt; and of their receiving the Law from Jehovah, at Mount Sinai. But we have no difficulty in seeing that it was written at very different times; and it is only by separating the modern portions, which have been added one after the other, that we can prove the great antiquity of the original writing. There are clear traces of three different dates. First, there is an original narrative, written soon after the events. Secondly, there is a history of the Exodus, embodying that original narrative. This was written in the time of the Judges, while the nation's boundaries were yet narrow, before the institution of the Levites, and before the temple was built for Jehovah. Thirdly, there are the modern additions, which are marked by their Levitical bias, and by the description of wealth and of a state of society which belongs to a time later than the reign of Solomon. The original document is not easily separated from the history in which it is embodied; nor will we begin with the attempt; but the history, as written in the time of the Judges, may perhaps be divided from the later additions in the following manner:—

PART I. *The History of the Exodus.*

Some generations after the time of Joseph, when his services to the king of Egypt were forgotten, the Israelites in the land of Goshen were cruelly used by the Egyptians. They were treated like slaves; they were made to work at brickmaking, and particularly at the walls of the cities of Pithom and Raamses. They had increased very much in numbers; and when their murmurs became loud, and rebellion seemed not improbable, the Egyptians ordered their male children to be put to death at birth. Moses, an Israelite, who had

been educated in Egyptian learning, and had then fled from the tyranny, and was dwelling among the Midianites at the foot of Mount Sinai, there formed a plan to free his countrymen. The angel of the Lord appeared to him, and told him that he would lead them out of Egypt, and bring them into the land of the Canaanites, and Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Gergesites, and Hivites, and Jebusites; and that, with a mighty hand, he would make the king of Egypt let them go (iii).

Moses and his brother Aaron accordingly asked leave of Pharaoh to lead the Israelites out of Egypt; but were only allowed after they had worked many miracles before the king, and brought several dreadful plagues upon the land. After these plagues had fallen upon the Egyptians, the King let the Israelites go; and the Feast of the Passover was established in memory of the last plague, and of the Israelites being free from it. Their first journey was from Rameses [*the city of the Sun, or Heliopolis*] to Succoth [*the tents, or Scenæ of the Roman Itinerary*], after they had been 430 years in Egypt (xii).

From Succoth they marched to Etham, at the edge of the desert [Thoum, in the Itinerary], and then, instead of going towards the land of the Philistines, the shortest way to the promised land, they turned southwards at the Bay of Hahiroth [or of Heroopolis.] There they were overtaken by the Egyptian chariots; but the Lord divided the sea by means of a strong east wind, and the Israelites marched through in safety, while the Egyptian army was drowned in attempting to pursue them (xiv). They then marched southward towards Mount Sinai, and on the route they were miraculously fed in the desert on manna (xvi). There they were attacked by Amalek, whom they defeated, and war was thereupon threatened against his race for ever (xvii). They then reached in safety the valley where Moses's father-in-law dwelt, at the foot of Mount Sinai. There Moses appointed judges over the people to assist him (xviii).

At Sinai, Moses went up the holy mount unto God, who told him that, if the Israelites would be obedient, they should be his peculiar people, a kingdom of priests, a holy nation (xix, 6, *continued at xx.*) God then gave him the Ten Commandments, and other laws about servants and against keeping slaves, about theft, witchcraft, and doing justly (xxiii, 9, *continued at 18*); and again promised that they should conquer the Seven Nations before mentioned (xxiii, 27, *continued at xxxi, 18*). And, at the end of the conversation, He gave to Moses two tables of stone, with the laws written on them (xxxii, 18).

Before, however, Moses came down from the mount, the people became impatient, and Aaron made a golden calf for them to worship. They made their offerings to the idol, as the god which brought them out of Egypt; and when Moses saw them dancing round it, he threw down the two tables of the Law in anger, and broke them (xxxii, 24, *continued at 30*). And God sent a plague upon the people, as a punishment for their guilt (xxxii, 35).

Moses then placed a tent or tabernacle outside the camp, as the sanctuary, or place of meeting, in which he consulted with the Lord (xxxiii). He made two new tables of stone like the first, on which God again wrote the words of the Law, and again promised that they should drive out the Seven Nations, if they kept the Passover, and obeyed the Commandments (xxxiv, 21, *continued at 29*). And Moses brought down to the people the two new tables, with the Ten Commandments written thereon (xxxiv, 35).

[This narrative of the events on the march seems continued by a few verses in Leviticus xxiv, 10–23, and then, perhaps, again at Numbers, chap. ix.

The mention (xii, xiii) of the month, Abib, or Epiphi, as the month of the Passover, or first month after the spring equinox, gives us a tolerably exact date. This month was moveable in Egypt, but when adopted in Palestine, was fixed. We know from Egyptian history that in the year B.C. 1322, at the beginning of the Sothic

period in Egypt, the first of Epiphi was on our 14th of May. It moved one day earlier in every four years. Thus in B.C. 1160, the month of Epiphi began on the 3rd of April; and in B.C. 1100, about the time when Samuel was made judge over Israel, it began on the 19th of March. Thus, this mention of the month of Abib as the month of the spring equinox, must have been written between these two years. It could hardly have been written after Samuel's death, nor could its adoption into Palestine be more than sixty years before his time.

Hence, unless we can yet more exactly distinguish the times at which each sentence was written, we must consider most of the above, in its present form, to belong to the time of Samuel. The threat of war for ever against the Amalekites, belongs to the later time, when the priestly portion of the first book of Samuel was written (*see* 1 Sam. xv, xxx).]

PART II. *The Additions to the Book of Exodus.*

Chap. vi, 14-27.—This is an imperfect genealogical table. The writer, having perhaps a complete table of the genealogies before him, began with Reuben and Simeon, and copied no further than enough to show the descent of the Levites.

Chap. xv, 1-21.—This is a triumphal ode in praise of Jehovah for the safe passage of the Red Sea, when the Egyptians were drowned. In Chap. xiv, the waters were said to be divided naturally by the wind; but here the floods stand upright in a heap. Here the Israelites are described as a more powerful people than in the former parts of the book; the Edomites and Philistines are said to be afraid of them; and the country of the latter people is called by its modern name of Palestine. The sanctuary had already been built on the Holy Mountain at Jerusalem. This poem was therefore written after the time of Solomon.

Chap. xix, 7-25.—This passage is clearly modern, because it speaks of priests, a body of men who had not at that time been set apart. The nation had no separate

order of Levites when the first portion of this book was written. Moses had been told, only a few verses earlier, that the Israelites were a holy people, they were a nation of priests.

Chap. xxiii, 10-17.—The appointment of a sabbath year for the field to lie fallow, may be part of the additions. The command to appear before the Lord three times a year, is certainly new; only once a year was that duty required in the time of Samuel (*see* 1 Sam. i). Moreover, when the Passover was ordered at the spring equinox, that was the beginning of the year agreeably to the Jewish calendar then in use: but here the Feast of Ingathering, only six months later, in September, is called the end of the year. This is agreeably to the calendar used at a later time in Judea.

Chap. xxiii, 28-33.—In the former promise (iii and xxiii, 23), the conquest was limited to a part of the country now called the Holy Land; but here it is extended to the limits of Solomon's sway, from the Red Sea to the river Euphrates.

Chap. xxiv-xxx, 17.—Here the Book of the Covenant is spoken of (xxiv, 7,) in terms which seem to belong to the reign of King Josiah (*see* 2 Kings xxii, xxiii). Directions are given for making the tabernacle, with an amount of gold and other valuables, such as the Israelites did not possess till the reign of Solomon (xxv-xxvii). Aaron and his sons are set apart as an order of priests, and directions are given respecting the sacrifices and burnt offerings (xxviii, xxix). Every male of the age of twenty is to pay every year, for the service of the tabernacle, half a shekel of silver, of full weight, according to the shekel of the sanctuary, not the shekel of currency (xxx). And the Sabbath is to be kept holy (xxxi, 17).

This appointment of Aaron and his sons to be priests, in chap. xxviii, must have been written long after the curse spoken against Levi, in Genesis xlix, 5-7. The directions concerning the burnt offerings and heave offerings in chap. xxix, can have formed no part of the Law in the time of Jeremiah, who seems particularly to

be putting aside these modern additions, when he says, that the Lord gave no command concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices in the day that he brought the Israelites out of Egypt (vii, 22). We may here remark that the title of Levite, given to Aaron, in chap. iv, 14, must be a modern addition. His brother, Moses, being of the same family, would have been equally so called, before the word Levite was used as another name for priest.

Chap. xxxii, 25-29.—In the verses which follow these five, after the idolatry of worshipping the golden calf, Moses tells the people that he will endeavour to make atonement for them; and then God punishes them with a plague. But in these five inserted verses there is a clear contradiction, since they speak of a slaughter committed by the zeal of the Levites, as the punishment for the very sin which Moses hopes to get forgiven.

Chap. xxxiv, 22-28.—Here, as in chap. xxiii, 10-17, the Israelites are ordered to keep three great feasts: and, as in chap. xxiii, 28-33, they receive a promise that, on doing so, the old borders of their land shall be enlarged.

Chap. xxxv to *end*.—These last six chapters contain an account of the tabernacle being made by the free offerings and willing labour of the people, with the same amount of gold, and the same costly furniture, as ordered in chap. xxv-xxvii.

[These portions, here treated as additions to the original book, for the most part belong to the three centuries and a half between Solomon and Josiah. The sacrifices at the solemn feasts were then conducted with costly splendour; the Levites were the established order of priests; the shekel of the sanctuary was distinguished from the shekel of currency; and the boundaries of the kingdom reached to the Euphrates. The modern laws bearing these marks of their own age may have been added at various times after the establishment of the monarchy. And it is by the comparison of these additions with those parts which more clearly belong to the history, that we are able to show the greater antiquity of the latter.]

If we now return to the more thorough examination of that portion of the book which, in its present form, belongs to the time of Samuel, we shall be able to distinguish some portions as yet older and more simple than the rest, and which we may consider as the original narrative. Thus, the history seems contradictory in adding any more laws, after the Ten Commandments, in chap. xx, and before the mention of the two tables of stone on which they were written, in chap. xxxi, 18. Part of these chapters we have separated, as of the age of the Kings; and, if we might separate the Ten Commandments from the other laws in chap. xx-xxii, we should obtain a portion of the original narrative. Indeed, we may conclude from Joshua writing a *copy of the Laws of Moses* on an altar of stones, that the Ten Commandments were all the laws that originally claimed Moses for their author (Joshua viii, 32). In the same way, the account of the stations at which the Israelites stopped, and of the passage of the Red Sea, in chap. xiii, xiv, bears marks of far greater simplicity, and is far less ambitious in its style, than the history of the plagues brought upon Egypt. The account of Moses being greeted by his father-in-law, after his successful escape out of Egypt (xviii, 1-12), is far older than the account of his appointing judges over the people, by Jethro's advice, on the next day (13-26). Other sentences might be pointed out, but these more simple parts do not seem now capable of separation from the history in which they are woven. We must be content to consider the Book of Exodus, in its present form, as written in the time of Samuel, by the help of an earlier writing, nearly, or perhaps quite, as old as the events mentioned, and having large additions made in the time of the Kings. The earlier writing we must consider the original book; and it may very possibly be the work of Moses, to whom the whole has usually been given.]

ON THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS.

THIS third book of the Pentateuch is a collection of Jewish laws, put together in the form of several commands, delivered by Jehovah to Moses, in the tabernacle or tent of meeting at the foot of Mount Sinai. They are thus inserted by their authors into the older history of the march out of Egypt. They are commands relating to sacrifices, to clean and unclean food, to leprosy, to marriage, and to other points of morality, which mark a very rude state of society.

From this description we must except the short history of an Egyptian blasphemer, which seems to belong to one of the older books, either Exodus or Numbers. The rest also of this book is not all of one age; and the portion of history about the blasphemer stands between the older and the newer portions of Law. Thus the whole book is divided into three parts.

PART I. Chap. i-xxiv, 9.

This is a more modern work than some of the earlier additions to the Book of Exodus, but more ancient than some of the later parts of that book. Many of the commands are the same that had been there delivered more shortly; and they are here repeated at great length. Thus the first seven chapters of this book are summed up in the words, "This is the law concerning the burnt offering, &c." and they are an enlargement of part of Exodus xxix. And again in chap. ix, 4, there is a reference to Exodus xxix, 42.

When these commands were written, the people were already quietly established in the land of Canaan, and dwelling in houses; and they are ordered at the Feast of Tabernacles to dwell in tents for seven days, to remind them that their fathers dwelt in tents during their march out of Egypt (xxiii, 42). And money was so far common, and found convenient, that they were allowed to send the sin-offering of a ram in money

instead of in kind (v, 15). The priests were the physicians, but medical knowledge was so low that mouldiness on the wall of a damp house was thought a disease like leprosy (xiv, 34).

The strongest proof of the late origin of this portion of the Law is, that the priests are all spoken of as sons of Aaron, which was not the case before Jerusalem became the capital, as we may learn from the Book of Samuel. But the calendar which is used in describing the feasts, and makes the Feast of Ingathering fall in the seventh month (xxiii, 39), is the more ancient one, which also makes the year begin with the spring equinox, as in the original Book of Exodus. This is not the case in the additions to the Book of Exodus, which describe the Feast of Ingathering as at the end of the year, and, therefore, make Abib no longer the first month but the sixth (Exod. xxiii, 16). This portion of Leviticus was, therefore, probably inserted into the history of the march later than Exodus xii, 18, xiii, 4, but earlier than Exodus xxiii, 10-17.

PART II. CHAP. XXIV, 10-23.

These few verses contain the history of an Egyptian brought before Moses for the crime of blasphemy. They form a portion of the history of the march out of Egypt. We must suppose that the first portion of Leviticus was at some time inserted into the account of the march before these verses; and that, at a later time, the latter portion was inserted after these verses; and, lastly, that when the two portions were taken away from the account of the march, to form a book by themselves, they carried away this portion of history with them.

PART III. CHAP. XXV to the end.

This latter portion of Leviticus is far more modern than the rest. Before it was written, slavery, which had once been forbidden, had been introduced (xxv, 45, 46); the temple had been not only built, but destroyed (*see* xxvi, 31); the northern tribes had been carried into captivity, and scattered among the heathen (*see* xxvi, 33).

Many of the cities had been fortified, and some had been allotted to the Levites (*see* xxv, 29–32). A new command is now also given that every seventh year is to be a sabbath year; and also a law as to the sale of estates, that when sold they should return to their owner at the end of forty-nine years (xxv, 8). That the ceremonial law was also at this time falling into less regard, may be supposed from the phrase “uncircumcised hearts” (xxvi, 41). The same phrase is used in Ezekiel xliv, 7. From all these circumstances, we may suppose that this latter portion of Leviticus is more modern than the Book of Deuteronomy, which was published in the reign of Josiah, B. C. 624.

ON THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.

IN this book the history of the march out of Egypt is continued from Mount Sinai, where the Law was delivered to Moses, to the east bank of the Jordan, opposite to the town of Jericho. Like the Book of Exodus, of which it is a continuation, it also contains several later portions, chiefly laws, inserted in the form of commands spoken either by the Almighty or by Moses. These may be distinguished from the narrative by their modern character. We will attempt to separate the portions in the following manner:—

PART I. *The History of the March out of Egypt continued at Chapter ix, from Exodus xxxiv, 35.*

When the time of the year came round for the Pass-over, the Israelites kept it at the foot of Mount Sinai, as they had before been ordered; and they then moved forward on their journey on the twentieth day of the second month of the second year. After several marches, they encamped in the Desert of Paran (x, 12, *continued at* 29). There their Midianite guide, the brother of Moses’s wife, refused to go any further with them; they were leaving his land, and he returned home (x, 32,

continued at xii, 16). From the Desert of Paran, Moses sent forward spies to view the promised land. They went as far as Hebron, and after forty days returned to Kadesh with a report of its richness, but of the fearful size and power of its inhabitants (*xiii, omitting 21, and part of 22*). The discouraged Israelites at first refused to obey the command of Moses that they should attack the Amorites, and as a punishment are told that they shall wander in the desert for forty years. They afterwards, against his command, attacked the Amalekites and Canaanites, and were defeated (*xiv, continued at xx*). At Kadesh, Miriam died; and there the people were miraculously supplied with water from the rock. From Kadesh, Moses sends messengers to ask leave of the Edomites to pass through their land, but he was refused; and as the Israelites were not strong enough to force a passage, they return to Mount Hor, and there Aaron died (*xx*). From Mount Hor they turned by the Red Sea to go round the land of Edom, wandering over a wide track of unknown country, and thus reached Pisgah in the land of Moab. There they were attacked by the Amorites, whom they defeated (*xxi, 25, continued at 32*), and they then encamped in the plains of Moab, on the banks of the Jordan opposite Jericho (*xxii, 1*).

PART II. CHAP. xxxiii, 1-49.

This portion seems as old as the history itself. It is a list of the places at which the Israelites stopped on their journey from Rameses, in Egypt, to the plains of Moab, on the banks of the Jordan. Kadesh, from whence the spies went forward, seems to be one day's journey beyond Eziongeber, the well-known town at the head of the Red Sea; and it must be distinguished from Kadesh Barnea, on the north of the Desert of Shur, with which it is confounded in the Book of Deuteronomy.

PART III. *Modern Additions to the History.*

According to the command of the Lord, Moses, in Sinai, numbered the Israelites able to bear arms, and

found them 603,550 males above the age of twenty, without counting the Levites, who were appointed to attend to the tabernacle (i). He then arranged the order of the march (ii). He appointed the Levites to the office of the priesthood, and on numbering their males, from one month old and upwards, found they were 22,000 (iii). He appointed to the several families of Levites their duties, and found there were 8,580 between the years of thirty and fifty, the age at which they were to do duty in the tabernacle (iv). He gave the people several further laws about adultery (v), and about those who aimed at perfect holiness, as Nazarites (vi). The chiefs then made their offerings to the tabernacle of the Lord, which were waggons drawn by oxen, dishes and bowls of silver, golden incense-pots, bullocks, rams, kids, goats. Judah was the first tribe to make its offering (vii). The Levites were then consecrated to their duties, and ordered to perform them from the age of twenty-five to fifty (viii).

Chap. x, 13-28.—The tribes marched forward, guarding the tabernacle and the sanctuary, as arranged in chap. ii, and in the order in which they made their offerings in chap. vii.

Chap. x, 33.—xii, 15.—They travelled three days' journey from the Mount of the Lord, and as the ark moved, Moses said, "Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered" (x).

On the people murmuring at having nothing to eat but manna, Moses appointed seventy elders to help him in his government. Soon afterwards a flight of quails was sent to feed them (xi). Aaron and Miriam called in question Moses' authority, and Miriam was thereupon punished with leprosy (xii, 15.)

[The description here given of the manna, that it was like a hard seed, and required grinding, is very unlike the earlier account given in Exodus xvi, where it is compared to hoar frost, which melted away as the sun grew hot. The figure of speech, "Is the Lord's hand shortened," would seem borrowed from Isaiah l, 2, or lix, 1.]

Chap. xiii, 21.—They searched the land from the Desert of Zin unto Rehob, on the way to Hamath.

[This declaration, that the spies went to the northern limits of what was afterwards David's kingdom, is contradicted by the next verse, which means that they went only to Hebron at the southern limits of the land of Canaan.]

Chap. xiii, *part of* 22.—Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.

[This fortifying of the city of Hebron, before named Kirjath-Arba, took place in the reign of Rehoboam (*see* 2 Chron. xi, 10), about the time that Zoan or Tanis became the capital of Egypt.]

Chap. xv–xix.—Various laws were given relating to the offerings and to the blue fringes which the Israelites were to wear on their garments (xv). Two hundred and fifty men, headed by a Levite, rebelled against Moses, and were miraculously punished (xvi); and the priesthood was further confirmed to Aaron by his rod budding (xvii). The rights and profits of the Levites were fixed (xviii). Directions were given for making the water of purification (xix).

Chap. xxi, 26–31.—These few verses, to explain that Heshbon was the capital of the Amorites, contain eight lines quoted from Jeremiah xlvi, 45–46.

Chap. xxii, 2.—xxiv.—The style of these chapters, containing the history of Balaam, strongly marks them as the work of another writer. The city of Petra is mentioned by its Greek name (xxii, 5). Balaam's last prophecy (xxiv, 14–24) is, that a king will arise in Jacob, who will destroy the Moabites, the children of Seth, the Edomites, and the Amalekites; that the Kenites of Petra will be conquered by the Assyrians, who will themselves be conquered by the Chittim.

[These last words of Balaam are, perhaps, the most modern words in the Pentateuch. They were added in praise of the Maccabee princes. Seth is an Egyptian name for Satan, and by the children of Seth, the Samaritans seem meant. Josephus calls them Cutheans. The Assyrians here spoken of are the subjects of the

Persian monarchs; the Chittim are the Macedonians under Alexander the Great.]

Chap. xxv, xxvi, and xxxi.—While dwelling among the Moabites and Midianites, on the east of the Jordan, the Israelites were seduced into idolatry and fornication; whereupon they were ordered to destroy the Midianites, for they “have distressed you by their wives” (xxv). Moses therefore numbered the people for war, and found that the males, of twenty years of age and upwards, amounted to 601,730. Of the Levites, the males, from one month and upwards, amounted to 23,000 (xxvi, *continued at xxxi*). One thousand out of every tribe were sent to the war, and they slew of the Midianites, every man, every male child, and every grown-up woman, but the girls, under the age of womanhood, they kept alive. They divided the prisoners and spoil into two equal parts, one part for those who went to battle, and one for the rest of the Israelites. Of the former portion, one in five hundred was given to the Levites, and of the latter portion, one in fifty (xxxi).

Chap. xxvii, 1–11, and xxxvi.—A law was made in favour of a powerful family of the tribe of Manasseh, that if a man died without sons, the inheritance should be divided among his daughters. And this was followed by a second law, that heiresses should not marry strangers, or carry the inheritance out of the tribe.

Chap. xxvii, 12–23.—Joshua was appointed by Moses to be his successor.

Chap. xxviii, xxix.—Laws were made relating to the several offerings; the daily offerings, those for the Sabbaths, the new moons, the passover in the first month, and the great fast and feast in the seventh month.

Chap. xxx.—Laws were made by Moses relating to vows.

Chap. xxxii, xxxiii, 50–56, xxxiv, xxxv.—Land was given to the tribe of Reuben, to the tribe of Gad, and to the half of the tribe of Manasseh, on the east side of the Jordan, with a command that they should help their brethren to conquer and gain for themselves land on the west side of the river. The other tribes were told that

they should drive out the Canaanites, and that their boundaries should be from the entering in of Hamath to the Nile. Forty-eight cities were then given to the Levites, and six of those appointed to be cities of refuge.

[The Book of Exodus and the Book of Numbers may originally have been one history, and both written in the time of the Judges, by the help of an earlier history of the march out of Egypt; and they both contain later additions of various ages. But in this book, the want of unity in the whole, and the want of agreement between the parts, is still more strongly marked than in the former. The simple meeting of Moses with his father-in-law, and his afterwards asking the help of his Midianite guide, are in strange contrast with the march of his army of 600,000 men, guarding their women and children, as described in chap. i. The first may have been written about the time of the events, and made use of by the later writer in the time of Samuel; the second was added after the monarchy was established.

The order in which the tribes encamped and marched to battle may perhaps be that which was established under the monarchy, when the tribe of Judah was the chief. The number of the men capable of bearing arms would agree with a population of about four millions and a half, which is double what we can believe the country held in the time of Solomon or Jehoshaphat.

The appointment of a body of priests, called Levites, who, in the Book of Leviticus, are called sons of Aaron, is clearly more modern than the time of Samuel, and was no doubt written after the time of Solomon. The account of the costly gifts to the tabernacle also cannot be more ancient than that reign. We find no sign of such wealth in the time of Samuel, Saul, and David.

The war against the Midianites, in chap. xxxi, seems a modern account of that successfully carried on by Gideon, (*see* Judges vii, viii.) No other war against that people is known; and a comparison between the two histories will show how far more modern is this history in the Book of Numbers.]

ON THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

JOSIAH came to the throne of Jerusalem when he was eight years old, in the year B.C. 642. The quiet of his childhood was undisturbed by foreign invasions; the Assyrians on one side were engaged in war against the rising Babylonians, and the Egyptians on the other were so far weakened by their civil wars, that for nine-and-twenty years they were employed on the siege of Azotus, which the Assyrian general defended without supplies from home. During Josiah's minority the country was governed by the priests; and when he came of age, and had to meet the assembled people as their king, Hilkiab the high-priest, the father of Jeremiah, produced to him from out of the temple the Book of the Covenant—a Book of Law which had not been before published. This we recognise, by the quotations from it, as the Book of Deuteronomy.

Compare 2 Kings xxii, 13, with Deut. xxviii, 45.

“Enquire concerning the words of this book that is found, namely,

“For great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according to all which is written concerning us.”

“Now all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which he commanded thee.”

Compare also 2 Kings xxii, 17, with Deut. xxix, 25–28.

“The words of this book which the king of Judah hath read, namely,

“*Because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched.*”

“*Because they have forsaken the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them forth out of the land of Egypt; for they went and served other gods, and worshipped them, gods whom they knew not, and whom he had not given unto them. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against this land, to bring upon*

it all the curses that are written in this book. And the Lord rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation, and cast them into another land, as it is this day."

And compare 2 Kings xxii, 19, 20, with Deut. xxx, 2, 3.

"As touching the words that thou hast heard, namely,

"Because thine heart was tender, and thou hast humbled thyself before the Lord, when thou heardest what I spake against this place and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become a desolation and a curse, and hast rent thy clothes and wept before me; I also have heard thee, saith the Lord. Behold, therefore, I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered unto thy grave in peace, and thine eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place."

"And when thou shalt return unto the Lord thy God, and shalt obey his voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart and with all thy soul; that then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee."

In the same way the words of Deut. xxvi, 16, are quoted in 2 Kings xxiii, 3; of Deut. xvi, 1, in 2 Kings xxiii, 21, and of Deut. xviii, 10-12 in 2 Kings, xxiii, 24.

Hence we gain from the Book of Kings the information that the Book of Deuteronomy was first published in the year B.C. 624, by Hilkiyah and Shaphan, and we may reasonably suppose that they were the authors of it. It bears no evidence of any greater antiquity. Those parts which speak of older events seem to be taken from the Books of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers. It is written in the form of a speech made by Moses to the assembled Israelites; and as former additions to the Law had been written in the form of speeches in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai, so this, which was meant as a summary of the whole, a second edition of the Law, as its Greek name means—this is a speech spoken in Moab just before his death.

Moses reminds the Israelites that, on leaving Horeb, he had set judges over the tribes; that they went to Kadesh Barnea, near the land of the Amorites; that they sent forward spies to view the promised land, but they themselves disobediently refused to go up and possess the land; and then returned towards the Red Sea (chap. i); that they then made a circuit round Edom, and then round Moab, and after journeying for thirty-eight years, they conquered the land between the river Arnon and Gilead (ii); that they then defeated the king of Bashan and conquered Gilead; and that he himself had been told by God that he was only to see the promised land from a distance (iii). He orders them to be obedient to the Ten Commandments, and prophesies that they will be disobedient, and that as a punishment they will be carried into captivity by the heathen. But he adds that, if they then in their trouble turn to the Lord, he will not forget them. He then sets apart three cities, on the east of the Jordan, as places of refuge for the man-slayer, namely, Bezer in the southern desert, Ramoth in Gilead, and Golan in Bashan (iv).

He repeats the Ten Commandments, and exhorts the people to obedience (v, vi). He orders them utterly to destroy the seven nations that they will meet when they cross the Jordan (vii, viii); but tells them that those nations will be conquered as a punishment because they have been wicked, not because the Israelites were righteous; and reminds them of their disobedience in Horeb (ix). He says that in Horeb the Levites had been set apart for the service of the Ark; and orders them to circumcise their hearts, to be just to the fatherless and widows, and to love the stranger (x). He tells them that they shall hold the whole country between the Desert and Mount Lebanon, from the Euphrates to the sea (xi), and orders them to bring their offerings to the place which the Lord shall choose for his habitation. When eating meat, they are to abstain from the blood, and not to forget the Levite (xii.) They are to stone to death prophets that ask them to turn to other gods,

even if they work miracles (xiii). They are not to cut their flesh; they are not to eat unclean animals; and they are to carry their tithes to the place which God shall choose for his dwelling (xiv). They are to release their debtors at the end of the seventh year (xv.) They are to keep the three great Feasts; the Passover in the month of Abib, the Feast of Weeks at harvest-time, and the Feast of Tabernacles after the vintage, at which times every male is to appear before the Lord in the place which he shall choose for his dwelling; and they are to plant no grove near the altar of the Lord (xvi.)

When they choose for themselves a king, he is not to be a foreigner, nor is he to have many horses nor many wives, and he is to keep a copy of this book and read therein all the days of his life (xvii). The Levites are to be maintained; the people are to hearken unto the prophets whom the Lord will raise up; but false prophets are to be put to death (xviii). When they conquer the promised land, they are to set apart three other cities of refuge (xix). When they conquer cities at a distance, they are to spare the women and children, but of the nations within the land they are to leave nothing alive. Timber trees may be cut down for a siege, but not fruit trees (xx). Cities are to make sacrifices for blood that has been shed; foreign wives, when put away, may not be sold as slaves: stubborn sons may be stoned to death (xxi). The house wall is to have a battlement, lest anything fall from the roof (xxii). Ammonites and Moabites shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord till the tenth generation; but Edomites and Egyptians in the third (xxiii). The Lord has made a covenant with them, that they shall have him for their God, and he will have them for his peculiar people (xxvi). When they conquer the land, the curses of the Law are to be delivered on Mount Ebal, and the blessings on Mount Gerizim (xxvii). He again says, that if they do not obey the Law, they and their children and their king will be carried into captivity (xxviii). They will be destroyed if they keep not the covenant which their fathers made

with the Lord (xxix); but if they turn again to the Lord, the Lord will again rejoice over them (xxx).

Moses then wrote this law in a book, and delivered it to the Levites, with a command that it should be read every seventh year at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the place which the Lord shall choose for his habitation. He encourages Joshua to be strong against his enemies (xxxi); and he teaches the people a psalm, setting forth God's promises of reward and punishment (xxxii). He adds a blessing on the several tribes of Israel (xxxiii); and then dies on Mount Nebo, in the land of Moab (xxxiv).

[The history of the march of the Israelites here varies from that in the older books; for, besides mistaking Kadesh, near Ezion-geber, for Kadesh-Barnea, near the land of the Amorites, the writer makes the refusal to enter the promised land, and the return southward, an act of disobedience to the command of Moses; and of course omits their being stopped by the Edomites, as that could not have been the case when they had reached Kadesh-Barnea. When this book was written, the nation was living under a race of kings, and the Levites were enjoying full power. That the Moabites should be spoken of with greater severity than the Edomites, marks the date of the book as after that of Ruth, because no blame is there thrown upon David for being descended from a Moabitess, and after the war against Moab, in the reign of Jehoshaphat. The words "circumcise your hearts" belong to the age of the prophets, when the ceremonial law was less valued. Words out of the Book of Deuteronomy are several times used by the prophet Jeremiah, who wrote about the same time or a little later. Thus Jer. (xi, 4,) calls Egypt "the iron furnace," as it is called in Deut. iv, 20. In chap. xi, 8, he says, that for their disobedience the Lord will bring upon Israel "all the words of this covenant,"—referring to the curses in Deut. xxviii, 15, xxix. 1, which are there called the "words of the covenant." But some parts of this book seem added in the time of the captivity in Babylon, such as the mention of

their king being taken away as prisoner, in chap. xxviii. Hence, it is not impossible that in the passages last spoken of, the writer of this book may have borrowed thoughts from Jeremiah.]

ON THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

THE Book of Joshua is the history of the conquest of the land of Canaan by the Israelites. It begins with the death of Moses, and ends with the death of the general from whom it takes its name. Its date and author are alike unknown. It is not only short, but very incomplete. It wants many particulars that might help us to understand the course of events. It is written in continuation of the march out of Egypt, and its events are followed up in the Book of Judges. But these books are very far from helping us satisfactorily over what we must call the dark ages of Hebrew history—the two hundred years between the clear account of the march of the Israelites out of Egypt, and the election of Saul as king. The Book of Joshua also contains a full geographical survey of the country.

The first eleven chapters are the history of the war. They begin with the passage of the Jordan and the encampment at Gilgal; the blockade and taking of Jericho; the defeat at Ai, near Bethel; and then the conquest of that town. No resistance on the march northward is mentioned; and Joshua then sets up an altar to Jehovah on Mount Ebal, as Moses had commanded, and carves on it the Commandments; and while one-half of the congregation stands near Mount Ebal, and the other half near the neighbouring Mount Gerizim, he reads the blessings and cursings of the Law.

The Gibeonites who dwell near Ai and Jericho make peace with the conquering Israelites, but nevertheless get condemned to perpetual bondage. The little kings of the more southern parts of the land,—namely, of Jerusalem, of Hebron, of Jarmuth, of Lachish, and of Eglon,—march northward against Joshua, and are

defeated by him in a great battle near Gilgal. By this one decisive action the power of the Canaanites is put down. He then overruns the southern half of Canaan, as far as Gaza and Kadesh-Barnea, without, however, being able to take the strong cities of the Philistines. Afterwards is more shortly stated the conquest of the northern half of the country.

The twelfth chapter contains a list of the kings of Canaan whom Joshua had defeated in battle.

The next seven chapters describe the division of the land among the conquerors, and the boundaries of the twelve tribes, of which two and a half settle on the east side of the Jordan, and nine and a half within the land of Canaan, on the west side of the Jordan. The tabernacle is set up at Shiloh, which becomes the religious capital, while Gilgal remains the military capital. Some tribes and cities are mentioned which were unconquered, or which paid tribute to be allowed to keep their possessions.

The twentieth chapter describes the appointment of six cities of refuge for men guilty of manslaughter.

The twenty-first chapter contains a list of the cities with their suburbs, held by the Levites, which list includes the cities of refuge.

The last three chapters contain the dismissal homeward of the tribes that live on the east of the Jordan, who are sent back after they have helped their brethren to the conquest of the land of Canaan. Lastly, the tribes are assembled at Shechem, a second religious capital at the foot of Mount Ebal; and Joshua, before he dies, exhorts them to continue to serve the Lord, according to what is written in the Book of the Law of Moses.

[It is not easy to form an opinion of the date of a book which certainly had additions made to it after the chief part was written. We must necessarily form some conjectural division of such a book into its earlier and its latter parts. In this way, if we may suppose that a small portion is a later addition after the division of the kingdom, we shall see reasons for thinking that the greater part of the book was written in the very beginning of David's reign.]

It was written before Ephraim had lost its rank as the chief tribe, while the cities of Ephraim, namely, Gilgal, Shiloh, and Shechem, were yet the capitals; before the separation of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and the controversy about Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim, which is shown in Deut. xxvii, 12, 13, (*see* chap. viii, 33); and before Gezer was conquered in the reign of Solomon (xvi, 10). On the other hand, it was written after the Canaanites had been made to pay tribute (xvi, 10, xvii, 13); and after the death of Saul, as the writer quotes the poetical Book of Jasher (x, 13), which was not written before the death of Saul and Jonathan (*see* 2 Samuel i, 19–27). It is from the Book of Jasher that the writer quotes the description of the sun and moon standing still while the battle was fought near Gilgal.

It is in the chapters describing the territories of the twelve tribes and the Levites, that we find some parts that we must take for modern additions. These are, 1st, the allotment given to the tribe of Judah, chap. xv; 2nd, the list of cities belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, chap. xviii, 21, to the end; and, 3rd, the list of cities given to the Levites, chap. xxi.

The very large portion of land here given to the tribe of Judah, including the territory of Simeon and part of the territory of Dan, marks an importance which that tribe had no claim to before it became the royal tribe in the reign of David, and which it did not gain till after the division of the kingdom. The Philistine cities of Gaza and Ashdod had not been included in the portions given to Simeon and Dan; but when these two tribes sunk into the tribe of Judah, the Philistines were conquered and their cities included within Judea. Moreover, the northern boundary of Judah divides the portion of Dan by a line which would seem taken for military reasons; which was natural after the two halves of the kingdom had been engaged in civil war; but before the division of the kingdom it is probable that Judah would have swallowed up either the whole of Dan or none. Indeed, this chapter is clearly

written after the conquest of Jerusalem, and after the tribe of Benjamin, in which that capital stood, had lost its own name and formed part of the kingdom of Judah; as we are told that the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah in Jerusalem unto this day (xv, 63). Lastly, the Egyptian river is in this chapter twice called by its common name, *the Nile*, while in the older part of the book it is called by its less usual name, *the Sihor* (xiii, 3.)

Verse 9 of chap. xix, forms part of this addition. It says that the territory of Simeon formed part of the territory of Judah, and was only given to Simeon because the tribe of Judah was not then numerous enough to occupy it.

The list of cities belonging to the tribe of Benjamin (xviii, 21-28) may also be a later edition, after that tribe had risen with Judah into greater importance. It follows after the writer had described the boundaries of the tribe, and after he had ended with the words used in the case of the other tribes: "This was the inheritance of the children of Benjamin." Indeed the greater part of the names of cities must be counted among the additions because of the partiality with which the lists were formed. The cities of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Gad, the middle tribes, are for the most part omitted, while those of Benjamin and Judah in the south, and Naphtali and Zebulon in the north, with their dependent tribes, are enumerated in full.

The twenty-first chapter, also, which contains the list of the cities belonging to the Levites, must be a later addition. For the writer has said that at the division of the conquered country no possessions in land were given to the Levites, or had been promised by Moses, but "the sacrifices of the Lord God of Israel made by fire are their inheritance" (xiii, 14). And so we find it written in the Book of Numbers, chap. xviii, 24, "The tithes of the children of Israel I have given to the Levites to inherit. Therefore I have said unto them, Among the children of Israel they shall have no inheritance." Moreover, among the Levitical cities we find Gezer, which was not conquered from the Canaan-

ites till Solomon's reign. Thus this list of Levitical cities could not have been made till some time after Solomon.

These remarks are enough to establish two dates for the Book of Joshua, one shortly before the conquest of Jerusalem from the Jebusites, perhaps 200 years after the death of Joshua, and the other still later, after the division of the kingdom in the reign of Rehoboam. But even in what we have called the older part, there are sentences that must have been added by the later editor. Such are the words, "from all the mountains of Judah and from all the mountains of Israel" (xi, 21); as Judah and Israel never meant different parts of the country before the revolt against Rehoboam. Such also is Joshua's saying that the Gibeonites are to be hewers of wood and drawers of water "for the House of my God" (ix, 23). This must have been written after the temple was built by Solomon.

The learned J. H. Hottinger, in his *Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ*, informs us that in the library at Leyden there is a copy of the Samaritan Book of Joshua; and he adds a very short epitome of its contents. In part it is the same as our Hebrew Book, with many additions. But until that MS. is published at length, any comparison of the two is incomplete and of little value.

In Deut. xxvii, 4, and in Jos. viii, 30, the Israelites are commanded to build an altar to the Lord, as the Hebrew says, on Mount Ebal, which is formed of white barren crags; but as the Samaritan says, on Mount Gerizim, which is a fertile hill, covered with cheerful green. The Samaritans acted upon the commands of their own bible, which is certainly supported by the appearance of the two hills, as well as by other parts of the history, which are the same in both bibles, and tell us, in Deut. xi, 29, and xxvii, 12, that the curses were pronounced from the barren Mount Ebal and the blessings from the cheerful Mount Gerizim. The two readings in the passages first quoted were a cause of quarrels between the two nations for many centuries.

The chief historical difficulty in the Book of Joshua is, that the writer describes the tribes that conquer Canaan as all members of the families that marched out of Egypt under Moses. He does not say that these wanderers from Goshen were joined on the east side of the Jordan by any others of the same race. Nor does he say that when they crossed the Jordan they found any large number of inhabitants of their own blood and language, already dwelling among the people that spoke the Canaanite languages, and whom they came to conquer. But the Book of Genesis enables us to supply what is here wanting. The crowded state of Mesopotamia, which drove Abraham to move his wealth and flocks and servants into Canaan, no doubt drove many others of the same nation to look for new homes in the same direction. For several centuries there was this migration westward from Mesopotamia. Therefore it is impossible to doubt but that when Moses and his followers arrived in the plains of Moab, on the east of the Dead Sea, he was joined by numbers who called him their countryman. These new allies would form part of his army in the attack on the Amorites and Bashanites. They would also follow Joshua and Caleb across the Jordan for the invasion of Canaan; and they perhaps formed part of the three tribes whom Joshua sent back again to their homes on the east of the Jordan, with thanks for their help (xxii, 4). In the same way we may suppose that, besides the despised Gibeonites, there were many other settlers in Canaan who welcomed Joshua's invasion, and joined his armies against the Canaanites, putting themselves under the command of those who had come out of Egypt. Thus was the settlement of the country assisted. As in the case of the rapid conquests by Alexander the Great and by Mahomet's successors, that portion of the population which was before in bondage rose at once in rank and into the historian's notice by the success of invaders of the same race with themselves. This book seems to be quoted in Isaiah xxxiv, 16, where the writer speaks of the division of the land among the tribes.]

ON THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

THE Book of Judges contains the history of the Israelites after their conquest of Canaan, and while they were divided into twelve tribes with no central government. It wants that clearness and chronological arrangement which we seldom find but in the history of a monarchy. Its history follows that of the Book of Joshua; but it was not written in continuation of that book, as it is the older writing of the two. It is rather several distinct histories than one. Each belongs to only a part of the country and to three or four of the tribes, and they must be considered separately.

Chap. i mentions the death of Joshua, and then the alliance between the tribes of Simeon and Judah. It enumerates some of the cities which the tribes on the west side of the Jordan were unable wholly to conquer.

With chap. ii the book begins again, and this time before the death of Joshua. An angel tells the Israelites that they have disobeyed God's orders in making treaties with the Canaanites and in worshipping their idols; so God will not drive out their enemies before them. Joshua then dies, and is buried in the mountains of Ephraim. The tribes are enumerated whom the Israelites are unable to drive out (iii, 6). Then are mentioned the several neighbouring nations that oppressed parts of the country.

(1.) First, the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and therefore he allowed the King of Syria to overrun the land from north even to the south, where Othniel, Caleb's nephew, dwelt. They served the Syrians for eight years, and then the land had rest for forty years (iii, 11).

(2.) Again the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and the Ephraimites round Jericho, together with the tribe of Reuben, on the east of the Jordan, were held in servitude by the Moabites for eighteen

years. They are released by Ehud, of the tribe of Benjamin, who helped the Ephraimites; and the land had rest for eighty years.

About that time Shamgar delivered the southern tribes from the oppression of the Philistines who had overrun them (iii).

(3.) And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and the Canaanites, whose king dwelt at Hazor, held the northern tribes in servitude for twenty years. The king of Hazor was defeated, and Sisera, his general, was slain, while Deborah, the prophetess or poet, ruled in Israel. Then the land had rest for forty years (v, 31).

(4.) And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and the Midianites, and Amalekites, and people of the East invaded the country, and oppressed it for seven years. They marched southward, even as far as Gaza. The Israelites retired to the mountains. The great body of the Midianites had crossed the Jordan near Gilead, and pitched in the valley of Jezreel. Gideon of Ophrah, in Manasseh, took the field against them. He summoned help from Asher, and Zebulon, and Naphtali, and defeated them. The writer adds the tradition that the rocks of Oreb and Zeeb, near Ophrah, were so named after the two leaders of the Midianites, then slain (vii). Gideon drove the Midianites across the Jordan and into their own country; and then the land had rest for forty years (viii). After his death, Abimelech, one of his sons, slew his brethren and made himself king at Shechem, the capital of Ephraim. He reigned for three years, when the men of Shechem rebelled against him; and though he at first defeated them, he was soon defeated and slain (ix). After his death, Tola was judge over Israel in Ephraim for twenty-three years, and then Jair of Gilead was judge for twenty-two years (x, 5).

(5.) And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served idols, and they were delivered into the hands of the Philistines and Ammonites. The Ammonites oppressed the Israelites on the east of the Jordan for eighteen years. They also crossed the Jor-

dan to fight against Judah, and Benjamin, and Ephraim (x.). Then Jephthah of Gilead, who had been living in the land of Tob, near Damascus, delivered his countrymen, and defeated the Ammonites, and drove them beyond the mountains. Before the battle, he made a vow that he would slay, as a burnt-offering to God, whatsoever he should first meet as he returned home. He returned home a conqueror, to be ruler of Gilead and judge of Israel; and his daughter, his only child, came out to wish him joy. He allowed her two months to mourn, and then slew her according to his vow (xi).

This success of the people of Gilead against the enemy gave them a weight among the tribes which made Ephraim jealous. They accordingly crossed the Jordan and invaded Gilead. But they were beaten by Jephthah, and he reached the ford of the Jordan before them to cut them off on their retreat. The guard at the passage asked every man to pronounce the word Shibboleth; and whoever said Sibboleth was known to be an Ephraimite, and slain accordingly. Jephthah judged Israel for six years. After him, Ibzan judged for seven years. He was a native of Bethlehem, no doubt the town of that name in Zebulon. Then Elon of Zebulon judged Israel for ten years. Then Abdon of Ephraim judged Israel for eight years (xii).

(6.) And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and the land was delivered into the hands of the Philistines for forty years. During this time, Samson made his heroic struggles against the Philistines of the city of Gaza, in behalf of his countrymen of Dan and Judah (xvi).

The book ends with two pieces of history which are wholly separate from the rest.

First, in those days when there was no king in Israel, a man of Ephraim made for himself idols, and consecrated one of his sons to be his priest. Afterwards he hired a Levite of the family of Judah from Bethlehem to be his priest; and then he trusted that the Lord would take care of him (xvii). About that time, the tribe of Dan, finding its lands between Benjamin and the coast too narrow for their numbers, sent a party

northward to seize other lands from the Canaanites. In passing through Ephraim they took with them the before-mentioned Levite as their adviser and priest; and they were successful in turning out the inhabitants, and making themselves masters of a district at the foot of Mount Lebanon (xviii).

The second is of the war between the tribe of Benjamin and the rest of the Israelites, also in the days when there was no king in Israel. A certain Levite went up from Ephraim to Judah to fetch his wife. As they returned home through Benjamin she was ill-treated by the men of that tribe, whereupon he slew her to mark his anger against them (xix). When the Israelites next met in general assembly at Mizpeh, this Levite told them of the wrong done him; and to avenge him, the people destroyed the cities of Benjamin, and put to death the whole of the tribe, men, women, and children, except six hundred men who fled to Mount Rimmon (xx). The Israelites had sworn that no one should give his daughter unto a Benjamite to wife. But they afterwards repented, lest one tribe should be wanting to Israel. To supply the Benjamites with wives, they attacked the town of Jabesh in Gilead, and slew every soul, except four hundred young women, and then sent the Benjamites to find two hundred more young women, by carrying off that number by force from the feast at Shiloh (xxi).

[These last two portions of the book form no part of the continuous history. The same may be said of the next book, the Book of Ruth. The history of the Judges is continued in the Book of Samuel.

To determine the chronology we must have regard to the geography, and we shall see that the wars here mentioned do not always belong to the whole of the Israelites. The invasion from Syria (iii, 8) overran the tribes on the west of the Jordan, both in the north and in the south, probably at the same time that the Moabites (iii, 12) conquered Reuben on the east of the Jordan, and the Midianites (vi, 1) conquered Ephraim. This was the first general invasion. The Canaanites of Hazor (iv) conquered only the northern tribes o

Galilee. This was at a later period, probably at the same time with that invasion of the Philistines which was checked by Shamgar (iii, 31). The invasion also of the Ammonites and Philistines at the same time (x, 7, and xiii, 1) made a second general invasion. Thus the six portions of the book, each beginning with the words, "The children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord," may be arranged in four separate chronological tables, each representing the same period of time. Taking the history of Ephraim and Manasseh, we have (vi, 1-x, 5):

(4.) Servitude under the Midianites	7 years.
Rest under Gideon	40
Abimelech reigned	3
Tola judged	23
Jair judged	22

Making a total of 95 years
before the second general invasion. Then
follows (chap. x, 6-xii, 15):

(5.) Servitude under the Ammonites	18 years.
Jephthah judged	6
Ibzan judged	7
Elon judged	10
Abdon judged	8

Making a great total of 144 years.

For the north-western tribes, Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali, we have a second table of chronology (chap. iii, 8-v, 31):

(1.) Servitude under the Syrians	8 years.
Rest under Othniel	40
(3.) Servitude under Canaan (chap. iv)	20
Deborah's rest	40

Making a total of 108 years
before the invasion of the Ammonites and others. This
period was 95 years in the former Table.

For Reuben we have a third table of chronology (chap. iii, 12-30):

(2.) Servitude under the Moabites	18 years.
Rest	80

Making a total of 98 years
before the invasion of the Ammonites and others.

For Benjamin and Judah we have a less complete chronology: thus (chap. iii, 7-11):

(1.)	Servitude under the Syrians	8 years.
	Rest under Othniel	40
(6.)	Servitude under Philistines, and	—
	Rest under Shamgar (chap. iii. 31)	—
	Servitude under the Philistines (during which Samson judged 20 years, chap. xiii-xvi.)	40

Thus the whole time from Joshua's death to the end of this book may have been about 150 years, divided into two periods by the second great invasion. Our first Table contains both periods. Our second and third contain only the first period. The last table seems to contain both periods; but it is incomplete, and must be filled up by conjecture.

It seems probable that the forty years during which the southern half of the land was overrun by the Philistines, as mentioned in chap. xiii., and during half of which Samson was fighting against them in the neighbourhood of Askelon, include also the wars between Ephraim and the Philistines mentioned in 1 Samuel, iv. As Eli the priest was hardly to be counted among the Judges, Samuel probably succeeded Abdon. Saul and David followed as kings. If, therefore, we allow eighty-five years to the last three, and David died in the year B.C. 1015, then the Book of Judges ends in the year B.C. 1100, and begins with Joshua's death about B.C. 1250, and the Exodus took place about B.C. 1300.

In this way, from the Exodus to the building of the temple in the fourth year of Solomon's reign is 289 years. If, instead of considering the periods of time in part contemporaneous, we had added them altogether, we should have had about the 480 years mentioned in 1 Kings vi 1. But the above calculation is fully confirmed by the genealogies. Moses was fourth in descent from Jacob. David was eleventh in descent. Therefore, from the death of Moses to the death of David, at thirty-five years for a generation, is 245 years, and from the Exodus to David's death 285 years, agreeably to the former result. The whole argument will be

made more clear by the following General Chronological Table:—

B.C.	THE COUNTRY DIVIDED ACCORDING TO TRIBES.						B.C.
GENEALOGIES.	Judah, Simeon, Dan, Benjamin.	Issachar, Zebulon, Asher, Naphtali.	Ephraim.	Gad, Manassch.	Reuben.		
1400	Jacob.						1400
	1. Judah.						
	2. Pharez.						
	3. Ezran.						1300
	4. Aram.	Exodus under Moses. Wanderings in the Desert. Invasion of Canaan.					
	5. Aminadab.	..... Servitude under Syrians.	Joshua. Under Amalekites and Midianites.	..... Gideon. Rest, 40 years.	..... Under Moabites.		
	6. Naasson.	..... Othniel Rest, 40 years.	.....	.....	.....
1200	7. Salmon.	..... Servitude under Philistines. Suamgar.	..... Abimelech. Tola.	.....	..... Rest, 80 years.		1200
	8. Boaz.	..... Servitude under Philistines.	..... Deborah. Rest, 40 years.	..... Jair.	..... Under Ammonites.		
	9. Obed.	..... Samson	..... Ibzan. Elon.	..... Jephthah.	.....	
1100	10. Jesse.	.....	..... Abdon.	.....	.....		1100
	11. David.	.....	..... Samuel. Saul.	.....	.....

Chap. i. of the Book of Judges has several marks of being more modern than most other parts of the book. First, it calls the father-in-law of Moses a Kenite, whereas he was called a Midianite in the Books of Exodus and Numbers. Secondly, it describes the Amorites as living between the going-up of Akrabbim, and the city of Selah or Petra, whereas in chap. xi, the Amorites dwell to the north-east of Moab. Thirdly, the mention of the rock city of Selah or Petra, and the calling the mountain heights to the south of the Dead Sea by their Greek name of Akrabbim or Akrabattene are peculiarities far more modern than the greater part of this book, which is among the oldest in the Bible.

So also the larger and poetical parts of chap. iv, v, including the history and song of Deborah, have been added after the rest was written. Here, also, Moses's father-in-law is called a Kenite. Here the remarkable words, "Lead thy captivity captive," seem borrowed from the prophecy of Amos i, 5. For the rest this book must rank next in age to the history of the march out of Egypt in Exodus and Numbers, and as far older than the Book of Joshua.]

ON THE BOOK OF RUTH.

WHEN David rose, from keeping his father's flocks, to be Saul's son-in-law and afterwards king of Israel, it was natural for his admiring countrymen to value and record any traditions which related to his family. Such was the history of Ruth, his great-grandmother. And it is highly honourable to the writer, and the people for whom he wrote, to observe that the purpose of the history is not to declare her noble rank or high birth, but to tell us that she was a poor woman, a foreigner, an idolatress, a widow almost without friends, but of blameless life and a pattern of womanly virtues.

Ruth was a native of Moab on the further side of the Jordan, who had in her own country married a Jew

from Bethlehem in Judea. On his death her mother-in-law returns home, and Ruth affectionately follows her, saying, "Intreat me not to leave thee; for whither thou goest I will go; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God." There, while gleaning after the reapers at harvest-time, she gains the notice of Boaz, a wealthy member of her late husband's family, who hears of her dutiful behaviour, and tells his servants to "let her glean among the sheaves and reproach her not, and to let fall some handfuls on purpose for her, and leave them that she may glean them." Boaz, though not a young man, shortly afterwards offers to marry her, but first calls upon her husband's next of kin to renounce his right to her hand. This Boaz was obliged to do by the law described in Deuteronomy (chap. xxv, 5-10), which regulated the marriage of an heiress, because Ruth, though in poverty, would carry with her to her new husband the claim to a family estate which had belonged to her late husband, but which was of no value in money, because it had passed by mortgage into other hands and must be repurchased before possession of it could be obtained.

The ceremony by which the nearer kinsman renounced his prior right to redeem the mortgaged estate, is carefully described as having gone out of use before the book was written. Boaz called upon him to buy the estate and marry Ruth, the young widow; this he refused to do, and in the presence of ten witnesses he took off his shoe and presented it to Boaz, the second of kin, in token that he gave him liberty to take upon himself the rights which had belonged to the first of kin.

The fruit of this marriage between Boaz of Bethlehem in Judea, and Ruth the Moabitess, was Obed, the grandfather of King David. "And the women said unto Naomi, Blessed be the Lord, which hath not left thee this day without a kinsman, that his name may be famous in Israel."

The sweetness of Ruth's character, her attachment to her mother-in-law, their praiseworthy behaviour in

poverty and their rural way of life, are described with a simplicity which approaches the sublime. The book was written in the reign of David, or not long after, at any rate, before her being a Moabitess was made a reproach, as it was in the Book of Deuteronomy (xxiii, 3. *See also* Ezra ix, 1, 2).

ON THE FIRST BOOK OF SAMUEL.

THIS book contains two histories blended together, in such a manner, that while in the beginning they may be easily separated, towards the end the task is less easy. The first has a priestly bias, and is no doubt the Book of Samuel mentioned in 1 Chron. xxix, 29. It contains the history of the prophet's life, and his government of Israel, his willing appointment of Saul to be king, his being afterwards displeased with Saul, and his anointing David to be his successor. The other history has a more political character, and may be part of the Book of Gad, spoken of in 1 Chron. xxix, 29. In it Saul is made king and general by the choice of the people, in opposition to Samuel's earnest remonstrance; and David afterwards in the same way gains his rank with the army, not because the prophet anointed him, but because he defeated the Philistine champion. Afterwards we have two accounts of Saul's first seeing David, two accounts of David's earning a wife by his bravery, two accounts of Saul's hurling his javelin at David, and two accounts of David's deserting to the Philistines; but it is not so certain to which book they each belong. The story of Samuel being raised from the dead by the witch of Endor, and Saul's death, belong to the Book of Samuel. The two Histories may perhaps be divided in the following manner:—

PART I. *The History of Samuel and of his making Saul and David kings.*

When Eli and his sons were priests of the Lord and Judges of Israel in Shiloh, the capital of Ephraim,

Samuel was born at Ramah in Benjamin; and his mother brought him to Eli as soon as he was old enough, to be a servant at the altar under his care (chap. i, ii). As Samuel grew up to manhood, he was as attentive to his religious duties as the sons of Eli were neglectful; and while they rioted in vice, all Israel from Dan to Beer-sheba saw that Samuel was a prophet of the Lord (iii).

In about the fortieth year of Eli's priesthood, the Israelites were attacked and routed by the Philistines. To restore the courage of the soldiers, the Ark of the Lord was brought from Shiloh into the camp by the two sons of Eli. But the Israelites were again routed, the sons of Eli were slain in the battle, and the Ark of God was taken by the Philistines. Eli himself fell down dead when the news was brought to him in Shiloh (iv).

The Ark of God brought nothing but trouble upon the Philistines when they had taken it. When carried into the temple of Dagon at Azotus, the statue of the god fell down before it in the night. When they sent it away to Gath, disease came upon the people of that town; and when they sent it on to Ekron, death came upon the Ekronites. They therefore sent it back to the Israelites with a sum of gold as a trespass offering for having taken it (vi). The Israelites everywhere defeated the Philistines, and regained from them the towns of Ekron and Gath, and the whole land of the Amorites. They then also put away the images of Baal and Astarte, which they had worshipped while subject to the Philistines. On the recovery of the Ark it was brought to Kirjath-jearim in Benjamin; and the sovereignty of the twelve tribes which, while Eli lived, resided at Shiloh within the tribe of Ephraim, now rested with the tribe of Benjamin. The prophet Samuel dwelt in Ramah in Benjamin, and he judged that tribe at Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, where all the tribe met in public assembly. He exercised also over the other tribes whatever little authority they were willing to place in the hands of one chief (vii, *continued at ix*).

Now there was a young man named Saul, who had the care of his father's asses, which one day went astray. By command of his father, he set out in search for them, but not readily finding them, he went into a city where there dwelt a celebrated prophet or seer, from whom, by payment of a small sum of money, he hoped to learn which way the asses had gone. On entering the city, he met the prophet Samuel, who told him that he was the seer. He bade him not mind his asses, and assured him that he was the desire of all Israel (ix). He then anointed Saul's head with oil, and told him that God had made him captain over the nation. He told him that he would become a new man, and that, as a sign thereof, a spirit of prophecy would come upon him. And accordingly when Saul shortly afterwards met a company of prophets, he prophesied like the rest; and the change in him was so remarkable that it became a national proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (x, 16, *continued at xi*).

About that time the Ammonites invaded Gilead, on the east of the Jordan, and threatened that within seven days they would put out every man's right eye in the city of Jabesh-gilead. In the city's distress Saul sent messengers northward and southward, to summon the people to meet him in arms, for the relief of the men of Gilead. He routed the Ammonites with great slaughter, and on his return to Gilgal, the nation or the troops proclaimed him king (xi, *continued at xv*).

After a time Samuel reminds Saul that he had made him king, and charges him to attack the Amalekites, and destroy them and their herds, because Amalek had attacked the Israelites as they came out of Egypt. Saul accordingly routed the Amalekites from Havilah to Shur, but spared their king and seized their cattle. And for this act of humanity and disobedience, the prophet tells him that the kingdom shall be lost to his family; and Samuel never sees Saul again (xv). Samuel then, by the advice of the Lord, looked round for a proper person to succeed Saul as king, and found him in David, the son of Jesse of Bethlehem in Judea:

he anointed the boy with oil, and the spirit of the Lord came upon him, while an evil spirit entered into Saul, who became mad. Saul, to comfort himself, sends for a musician; and the young David is brought to him, who forthwith becomes his harp-player, and his armour-bearer, and his favourite (xvi, *continued at* xviii, 14.)

David behaves himself wisely in his new position, and Saul after a time becomes jealous of his popularity. To get rid of him Saul offers him a daughter in marriage, if he will earn her by the dangerous exploit of killing an hundred Philistines.* This task David performs, and thereby gains the princess and great credit with the army (xviii, *continued at* xix, 8).

On other occasions David routs the Philistines with great slaughter; but Saul's madness increases, and as David is playing the harp to him, he hurls a javelin, and would have killed him on the spot if he had not avoided it (xix, 8-10, *continued at* xxi, 10). So David, in fear for his life, deserts to the Philistines, and flies to the king of Gath (xxi, *continued at* xxvi).

The men of Ziph send word to Saul, that David is hiding in the neighbourhood; and Saul comes down in pursuit of him. There David had an opportunity of killing Saul, but he would not hurt the Lord's anointed, though he was his enemy. Saul is moved by this kindness, and promises that he will do David no more harm. But this promise does not lead David to return into his service (xxvi, *continued at* xxviii, 3).

Samuel was now dead, and Saul had put all the wizards out of his land. But he was still in fear of the Philistines, and he could get no answer to his questions about the future, either by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets. His servants tell him of a witch at Endor, near Mount Tabor, and so he went to seek her in disguise. At his request, and on his promise that she should not be punished, she called up the prophet Samuel's spirit to answer him. Samuel gives the king no comfort, but tells him that the Israelites will be defeated by the Philistines, and that he and his sons will be slain on the morrow, and that the kingdom will

pass away from his family in punishment for his not slaying the Amalekites (xxviii, *continued at xxxi*). As it was foretold so it happened. The Philistines routed the Israelites and slew Saul's sons; and Saul killed himself by falling on his sword. And the men of Jabesh-gilead came and fetched his body to their city and burnt it, and buried the ashes with due respect for one who had before done them a service (xxxii, *continued at 2 Sam. ii, 4*). And when David became king he sent to thank them for showing a kindness to their late lord (2 Sam. ii, 4-7).

PART II. *The History of Saul's reign, and of his quarrel with David. (Beginning at chap. viii.)*

As Samuel the prophet grew old, and his sons, whom he had made judges with him, turned aside from justice, the people of Israel came to him in Ramah of Benjamin, where he dwelt, and called upon him to help them to choose a king, who might lead them to battle against their enemies. He was much displeased with their request; and told them that in rejecting a priestly government they were rejecting Jehovah. He warned them of the tyranny that they might expect from a king. But they would not obey his voice; and they said, "Nay, but we will have a king over us." Samuel, therefore, being unable to move them from their purpose, wisely determined to help them in their choice (viii, *continued at x, 17*). He called a meeting of the tribes at Mizpeh, one of the cities in which he judged, and the first vote decided that the king should be taken out of the tribe of Benjamin; the second, that he should be one of the family of Matri; and the third, that he should be Saul, the son of Kish, a young soldier, who was a head and shoulders taller than his companions (x, *continued at xii*). Samuel, when presenting Saul to the people, claimed from them that they should acknowledge the justice of his own past government, and reproached them with their ingratitude, but charged them, however, to fear the Lord and obey their new king (xii).

In the second year of Saul's reign, the Philistines marched with so large a force against the Israelites, that many fled in their alarm to the further side of the Jordan. Saul got together his soldiers at Gilgal; but agreed to tarry there seven days, until Samuel should arrive to sacrifice a burnt offering before the battle. Samuel did not arrive at the appointed time. The Philistines had already reached Michmash, from which town Saul withdrew his troops, and the battle could no longer be delayed. Saul therefore offered the burnt offering himself, and the prophet who then arrived in the camp, told him that but for that act the Lord would have established the kingdom in his family for ever; but now his kingdom should not continue, for the Lord had sought him a man after his own heart to be captain over his people (xiii, 14).

The Israelites were badly armed. The Philistines having possession of the coast, had been able almost to debar them from the use of iron. But Saul advanced from Gilgal to Gibeah of Benjamin (xiii). From Gibeah, Jonathan, Saul's son, made a brave attack upon the Philistines, which so far discouraged them that many returned home, while the Hebrews in the Philistine army deserted and joined Saul. Saul thereupon had the Ark of the Lord brought into the camp and began the battle. But the success was at first doubtful, and the Israelites were sorely distressed. At length, however, they routed the Philistines, and drove them back from Michmash to Aijalon. On inquiring into the causes of the want of success in the earlier part of the day, it was found that Saul had charged the people with an oath that they should not eat till evening; and that Jonathan, who had not heard the command, had eaten a little honey. For this Saul would have put his son to death; but the people saved the young hero, whose bravery had so lately saved them. After this great battle at Michmash, Saul was able to clear the kingdom from his enemies on all sides, from the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Edomites, the people of Zobah and the Philistines, though with these last the war con-

tinued through the whole of this reign. Saul also made an attack upon the Amalekites, who were plundering the Israelites in their turn (xiv, *continued at xvii*).

When the Philistines were invading Judea, and were encamped at Shochoh, on the road to Bethlehem, Saul, at the head of the army of Israel, encamped at Elah. While waiting for an engagement, a giant, named Goliath, every morning and every evening came forth out of the Philistine camp, and challenged the Israelites to choose out their bravest champion to fight with him. But no Israelite durst venture forth to meet him in single combat. It chanced that at that time a lad of the name of David, who was too young to carry arms, came into the camp with food for his three elder brothers, who were soldiers. When he heard of Goliath's challenge, and of the alarm of the Israelites, and that King Saul had promised great wealth and his daughter in marriage to any one who would conquer the Philistine champion, the young lad offered to accept the challenge. Saul allowed him, and would lend him his own armour, but David went forth armed only with a sling and a bag of stones; and his first stone struck the Philistine on the forehead, and brought him dead to the ground. Upon this the Israelites took courage, and routed the army of Philistines, and pursued them with great slaughter to the very gates of Ekron and Gath (xvii). After this success, David was made a captain in Saul's army, and became the dear friend of Jonathan, Saul's son. But the king's gratitude was soon changed into jealousy, for when the women of Israel came forth to meet him singing the army's praise, the burden of their song was, "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his tens of thousands." Saul in a fit of madness even cast his javelin at David, and would have killed him (xviii, 13, *continued at xix*). On another occasion when Saul again tried to kill David, he was saved by the friendship of Jonathan (xix, 7, *continued at 11*) and of his wife Michal, Saul's daughter; and he fled for safety to the prophet Samuel at Ramah. Saul then sent messengers after him to seize him. But a holy spirit came upon them,

and instead of obeying the king's commands, they joined Samuel's company of prophets, and prophesied like the rest. A second and a third body of messengers, when sent to seize David, turned prophets also; and at last Saul went himself to Ramah to take David; but he also stripped off his clothes and prophesied like the rest. Whence arose the saying, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (xix). Saul afterwards in his madness tried to kill his own son Jonathan, because he was David's friend; and then David, in fear for his life, hid himself (xx). He went to Nob, and took Goliath's sword from the priest there (xxi, 9, *continued at xxii*).

David then retired into Moab with a body of followers, who made him their leader. There he left his father and mother in safety. By the advice of the prophet Gad, he hid himself in the forest of Hareth in Judea. And Saul when in search of him slew the priests of Nob, because they had received David and not given him up (xxii). In Ziph David was nearly being betrayed to Saul; but he was saved because the king was called off from the pursuit of him by an inroad of the Philistines (xxiii). While hiding in the desert of Engedi, David had an opportunity of killing Saul, but he would not lift his hand against the Lord's anointed. Saul was moved by this kindness, but David would not trust himself with him, and withdrew into a place of safety (xxiv). Samuel dies, and David retires into the desert of Paran, and there he marries two wives, because Saul's daughter had been taken from him and given to another husband (xxv, *continued at xxvii*).

David then deserted to the Philistines, taking with him a body of followers, and went down to Achish, king of Gath. Achish received him well, and gave him the town of Ziklag for a dwelling place, and David made himself master of Judea, and conquered the nations on the south (xxvii). Thus began David's reign over Judah, where he was king during the last five years and a half of Saul's reign over Israel (*see* 2 Sam. ii. 10-11). The Philistines then marched south-

ward against the Israelites, and Achish took David with him in his service (xxviii. 2, *continued at xxix*). But the princes of the Philistines distrusted David; and Achish, for fear of their displeasure, was obliged to send David away while they marched forward to fight Saul at Jezreel (xxix). David had no sooner arrived at Ziklag, than the Amalekites invaded the south of Judea; but he defeated them, and slew every man of them in their flight, except the troop that was mounted on camels (xxx, *continued at 2 Sam. i, 1-ii, 4*).

[The history of Samuel, the first part of this book, seems far more modern than this latter history of Saul and David, from which we have separated it. The writer's knowledge of geography has a wider range, but is less exact. He makes Saul follow his father's asses over a distance of perhaps eighty miles; and he has more knowledge of the town of Jabesh in Gilead, and of Mount Gilboa to the north of Samaria, than of the land of Benjamin where Samuel and Saul lived. He seems to have read the Book of Exodus, as he speaks of Amalek opposing Moses near Mount Sinai. But he seems to misunderstand the geography of the Book of Genesis; for while the land of the Ishmaelites is there described (Genesis xxv, 18,) as the whole of the Arabian desert from Havilah towards Assyria, to Shur or Pelusium, the frontier town of Egypt, this writer says (1 Sam. xv, 7,) that Saul, marching southward from Judea against the Amalekites, routed them from Havilah to Shur. His opinion of the little worth of burnt offerings and sacrifices (xv, 22,) should make us think that it was written in time of the prophets Micah and Isaiah.

The second part, the life of Saul, is more ancient than the former. There is nothing in it to make it seem more modern than the reign of Solomon, if indeed it is so modern. The writer no doubt lived within the country of Benjamin, and was wholly free from the priestly bias which appears in the former part. The geography of this life of Saul is almost limited to the countries of Benjamin, Judah, and the Philistines.

Gath, the town of the Philistines, is only twenty miles distant from Gibeah, Saul's town, and from Bethlehem, David's town; and it seems almost to be by the mistake of the writer of the life of Samuel, that the last battle, in which Saul was slain, is placed in the valley of Jezreel at the foot of Mount Gilboa. This last history may possibly be part of the Book of Gad. We shall perhaps find a further portion of the Book of Gad at the end of the Second Book of Samuel.]

ON THE SECOND BOOK OF SAMUEL.

THIS Second Book has been arranged by the editor as a continuation of the First. But it is from the hand of a different author. It contains the reign of David after Saul's death, and the establishment of Jerusalem as the capital of the kingdom.

When David returned to Ziklag from his attack upon the Amalekites, news was brought him that Saul had been defeated by the Philistines, and slain after the battle; and that his son Jonathan was also killed (i). But this did not make David king over the twelve tribes. He was already king of Judah, with Hebron for his capital; and Ish-bosheth, one of Saul's sons, was now declared king over Benjamin and the rest of Israel (ii). For two years a civil war continued between David and the son of Saul, till Abner, a chief general among the Israelites, deserted to David in Hebron (iii). Upon this, Saul's son is put to death by his own subjects, and they send to Hebron to make David their king. David had already reigned seven years and six months over Judah, and he was now king over the twelve tribes (iv and v, 5).

The first act of David's reign over Israel and Judah united, was to seize the city of Jerusalem, which had hitherto belonged to the Jebusites, a people who seem to have lived peaceably in the middle of the tribe of Benjamin, and to have taken no part in the late wars.

He then again routed the Philistines (v). His next act was to bring the Ark of the Lord from Gibeah, where it had remained during Saul's reign, and he placed it under its Tabernacle in his new capital (vi). He would then have built a temple to receive it; but that was a duty and a privilege reserved by God for his son (vii).

David next defeated the Moabites on the east of the Jordan, and made them pay him tribute. He then marched northward into Syria against Zobah, which was probably the district to the north of Sidon, between the mountains and the coast; and he plundered the cities of Bethah and Berothai, the latter perhaps Beyrout. The king of Zobah was at that time fighting to recover his frontier at the river Euphrates. David then defeated the Syrians of Damascus, who marched to the help of the king of Zobah. But the king of Hamath, on the river Orontes, who was at war with the king of Zobah, saved his country from invasion by sending forward a tribute to David before it was demanded. At the same time David also placed garrisons in the cities of the Edomites, between Judea and the Red Sea (viii).

David showed kindness to one of the sons of Jonathan (ix), and would also have shown kindness to the king of the Ammonites; but this last would not trust him. He therefore defeated the Ammonites in battle, together with the Syrians, who came to help them (x). It was during this war against the Ammonites, while his troops were in the neighbourhood of Rabbah, that David basely contrived the death of Uriah, that he might gain possession of his wife (xi), for which crime he was boldly reproved by the prophet Nathan. When the city of Rabbah could no longer hold out against his forces, David went down from Jerusalem to the army, that he might have the honour of taking the city in person (xii).

David's troubles began from the crimes of his own children. First, Absalom killed Amnon, and then withdrew from punishment to the king of Geshur, who held the country between Gilead and Damascus (xiii).

But Absalom was the favourite son of his father, and therefore he was shortly afterwards allowed to return to Jerusalem and was forgiven (xiv). He then formed a conspiracy in Hebron against David; and the hearts of Israel were so far turned to the young man that David had to leave Jerusalem for his safety, and the rebellious son made himself master of the capital (xv). As David retreated through the land of Benjamin, the family of Saul turned against him (xvi). Absalom then summoned all Israel, from Dan to Beersheba, to the pursuit of their late king; and David retired across the Jordan to Mahanaim, in north Gilead, where he met with support from the people of the country, and from the neighbouring Ammonites (xvii). When Absalom led his forces across the Jordan he was defeated by David and slain in the battle, much to the grief of his father (xviii). The people of Israel and Judah then returned to their allegiance, and the latter led David back again to Jerusalem as king (xix).

The people of Benjamin soon afterwards rebelled against David, but they were defeated (xx), and this rebellion was followed by the hanging of seven of Saul's grandsons, and the removal of Saul's and Jonathan's remains to the burial-place of his family (xxi, 14). After this, David once more had to send his forces against the Philistines, whom he defeated at Gob (xxi).

The words of the eighteenth Psalm are then said to be spoken by David in thankfulness for his success (xxii). We then have the last words which the king spoke before his death, and a list of the chief captains in his army (xxiii). And lastly, though rather out of place, we have an account of David's numbering the people, who are declared to be 1,300,000 males able to bear arms, or 800,000 for Israel, and 500,000 for Judah; and an account of his purchasing from Araunah, the Jebusite, a threshing-floor upon which, by the advice of the prophet Gad, he built an altar for burnt-offerings unto the Lord (xxiv).

[This Second Book of Samuel may very probably be

the Book of Nathan, mentioned in 1 Chron. xxix, 29, or founded on that book; as Nathan is an important person in the history. It mentions David's family reigning after him (vii); but there are no passages which should lead us to think that it was written later than Solomon's reign. It was before the rise of the Levites and their influence over the Hebrew writings. In the political views and geographical knowledge which it shows, it is unlike either of the two books into which we have divided the First Book of Samuel. The countries paying tribute to David, and mentioned with accuracy, extend over 300 miles from north to south, while the country governed by Saul, and well known to the writer of his life, was hardly more than 50 miles in length or breadth. The latter two chapters of this book seem a supplement or addition to the history, and the last may be part of the Book of Gad.]

ON THE FIRST BOOK OF KINGS.

THE two books of Kings contain the history of the monarchy for four hundred years, from the death of David till the Babylonian captivity. When the nation, after Solomon's death, is divided into two, there is no division in the history. The events of the two monarchies are carried forward in one narrative. The writer of the last part evidently lived at the time last mentioned. The earlier parts were written at an earlier time; but the last writer may have been the editor who put the whole together in its present form. On the other hand, the history with which the first book ends is repeated rather confusedly at the beginning of the second book, which makes it more probable that they had two editors. It is therefore convenient to treat them as two different works. The First Book has been fitted to the Second Book of Samuel as a continuation of that history; but there is no part of it which can well have been written by the same author.

PART I. *Solomon's reign.* Chap. i-xi.

As David's life drew towards a close, his son Adonijah plotted to get himself recognised as the successor to the crown; but Bathsheba, David's favourite wife, obtained the appointment for her son Solomon. Solomon was accordingly anointed as king by the priests, and he reigned for a short time jointly with his father. On David's death, Solomon succeeded quietly to the throne; but he put Adonijah to death, because he was restless under his disappointment, and wished to gain rank in the State, by marrying one of the royal widows. Joab and Shimei, two of David's servants, were also put to death; the first for joining Adonijah in his schemes of ambition, and the second for quitting Jerusalem, where he had been ordered to live, because his loyalty was distrusted.

Solomon appointed a new class of officers over the kingdom, to collect supplies for his household. He had a large army with a body of cavalry, part on horses, part on dromedaries, and part in chariots. He reigned prosperously and peaceably, receiving tribute from all the little kings who ruled between Tiphseh on the Euphrates and the Egyptian border, including Edom on the south, and Tadmor in the eastern desert, better known as Palmyra.

Solomon's chief work was building the temple of Jerusalem, which was the employment of seven years. For this he bought the services of Hiram, king of Tyre; and while Solomon sent labourers to work on Mount Lebanon, in cutting timber and stone, Hiram's ships brought these materials to the point on the coast nearest to Jerusalem. For this and other services he repaid the king of Tyre, by giving him twenty cities in the land of Galilee. When the temple was finished he dedicated it to God, with a beautiful prayer, as to a "Being whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, how much less this house which I have built." And he held a great religious festival, gathering together people from the whole length of his kingdom, from the Entering

in of Hamath, between Lebanon and Anti-Libanus, to the river of Egypt, or Pelusiac branch of the Nile. He also built a palace for himself, and a second palace, called the House of the Forest of Lebanon, and two open porticoes, in one of which he sat on his throne to judge the people. These were all ornamented by the skill of Tyrian workmen.

Solomon gained credit with his subjects and neighbours for the wisdom of his judgments. He was wiser than all men, and spoke three thousand proverbs and one thousand and five songs. The queen of Sheba, in South Arabia, who had heard of his wisdom by means of the caravans which passed between the two countries, came in person to visit him.

At Eziongeber, the Edomite port on the Red Sea, with the help of the king of Tyre, he fitted out a ship for the southern trade. This ship sailed once in three years, and brought home gold from Ophir, the port of the Nubian gold-mines; and apes, ivory, ebony, and rare birds, from the further coast of Africa.

Besides numerous other wives, Solomon married, rather late in life, an Egyptian princess; and the Egyptian king, her father, as a marriage gift, sent an army into Palestine, to besiege and take for Solomon the town of Gezer, in Samaria, which the Israelites had not been able to conquer. By his foreign wives Solomon was led to worship the gods of many of the neighbouring nations.

But Solomon's prosperity did not last to the end of his reign. Formerly, when David conquered the Edomites, Hadad, the child of the reigning family, escaped to Egypt; and when the friendship cooled between Solomon and his father-in-law, the king of Egypt sent back Hadad to raise the Edomites in rebellion. At the same time, the king of Damascus threw off his allegiance to Solomon. Jeroboam, also, the governor of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, made some attempts at a revolt; but he was unsuccessful, and fled to Egypt to escape from punishment. With these ex-

ceptions, Solomon's long reign was one of unbroken peace and prosperity.

[This history of Solomon's reign is said to be founded on a book no longer in being, called "The Book of the Acts of Solomon." xi, 41.]

PART II. *The History of Judah and Israel, from the death of Solomon to the death of Jehoshaphat.*
Chap. xii-xxii.

On Solomon's death, B. C. 980, the northern tribes threw off their obedience to Judah; and when Rehoboam, Solomon's son, was made king at Jerusalem, the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh made Jeroboam king at Shechem, in Samaria. From that time forward the tribes of Judah and Israel remained under different kings. But so little is known of them, that the history of the two kingdoms, with their civil and foreign wars, during the next ninety years, does not take up more space in this book than Solomon's uneventful reign.

Shishak, king of Egypt, the friend of Jeroboam, invaded Judah, and plundered Jerusalem; and Jeroboam, perhaps as an act of homage to this powerful ally, set up golden calves, for his people to worship, at Bethel and Dan. Rehoboam also set up images and high places for idolatrous worship in Judah. Abijam, the next king of Judah, the son of Rehoboam, continued the idolatry; and even Abijam's son, Asa, the next king, though a better man, did not remove the idolatry from the high places. The civil war between Israel and Judah continued, with intervals, for about forty years, when Asa, king of Judah, sent his treasures from Jerusalem to Damascus, to engage Benhadad, the king of that part of Syria, to invade Samaria. Benhadad, readily consented. The Syrians, however, were defeated by the Israelites on the first invasion; as also on a second invasion, when Benhadad restored the cities which he had before taken. But, on the death of Asa, his son Jehoshaphat, who then came to the throne of Judah, made peace with Israel; and when Benhadad, for the

third time, marched against Israel, the two kings joined their forces against him. The two kings, by the advice of their prophets, gave battle to the invading Syrians, at Ramoth in Gilead. But the Syrians were successful. The king of Israel was slain, and Jehoshaphat had to save himself by flight. Jehoshaphat, however, was a prosperous monarch. He conquered the Edomites, and put their country under the command of a deputy. He then built ships at Ezion-geber, with a view to regain the trade on the Red Sea, which had before enriched Solomon. But here he was unsuccessful. The king of Israel offered to help him in his attempts; but Jehoshaphat would not allow him to join him. He was unable to guard his ships, and they were soon afterwards broken to pieces by foreign jealousy.

These kings of Judah all mounted the throne in quiet succession; in each case the son succeeded to the father. But the monarchy of Israel, which began in rebellion, was never long free from civil violence. King Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, was killed by Baasha of Issachar, who then seated himself on the throne. Afterwards, Elah, the son of Baasha, was violently put to death. Omri, a captain of the horse, was then made king, and was succeeded by a son and two grandsons.

[These short annals are said to be taken from the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, and the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel. But there are also portions which seem added from other sources than those mentioned. These are chaps. xvii-xix, which contain the history of the prophet Elijah, his raising the widow's son, his convincing the false prophets of Baal by fire from heaven, and his speaking with the Almighty in Horeb; and chap. xxi, which contains Elijah's denouncing judgment against Ahab, king of Israel, and his wife Jezebel, for killing Naboth, whose vineyard they wished for. The greater portion of the Books of Kings is an unornamented narrative. But some parts of the history of Elijah are highly poetical. Perhaps, indeed, the account of the Almighty's speaking

to the prophet in Horeb is the finest instance of the sublime that the sacred volume contains. The writers show no partiality towards either of the two kingdoms over the other. They seem to have read most of the earlier books of the Bible, that is to say, at least Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Judges, and Samuel. The calculation of the number of years between the Israelites' coming out of Egypt and Solomon's building the temple, seems formed upon the Book of Judges, which is unhappily supposed to relate a series of events that happened one after the other.

One passage is clearly a modern addition, written in the reign of Josiah, king of Judah, who is there mentioned by name, as though prophetically. It may, perhaps, begin at chap. xii, 26, and end at chap. xiv, 18. The writer of this passage shows a partiality towards Judah and the Levites, which does not agree with the rest of the book. He blames Jeroboam, because his priests are not Levites; and he makes a prophet from Judah foretell that Josiah, three hundred years later, will overthrow the altar in Bethel, which Jehoshaphat was then raising. Yet more modern is the latter part of the beautiful prayer spoken by Solomon on the dedication of his temple in chap. viii,²⁷⁻⁶¹. Here, in words borrowed from Deut. iv, 20, Egypt is called the iron furnace. Here also, mention is made of the carrying off of the Israelites into captivity, and a prayer added that their conquerors may have compassion on them; but no mention is made of a return home. This prayer of Solomon would, therefore, seem to have been written before the end of the Babylonian captivity, when the people were only able to pray "towards the temple," and not in it. The style is gorgeous and ornamented, like the poetry of the later psalms.]

ON THE SECOND BOOK OF KINGS.

From the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, B.C. 897, till the end of the Jewish monarchy, B.C. 588.

IN the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat, the Moabites on the east side of the Jordan rebelled against Jehoram, then king of Israel; and he, instead of crossing the river against them, marched southward through Judea, with the permission, and indeed with the support, of Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom. The three kings entered Moab on the south side of the Dead Sea, and routed the Moabites without being able to reconquer the country. They had to retreat, unsuccessful, from the siege of Kirharaseth, but not before the king of Moab had sacrificed his own son upon the city walls as a burnt-offering to his gods (iii).

Soon afterwards, the Syrians invaded Samaria, but retreated suddenly on hearing a noise from heaven, which they thought was that of an army of chariots coming against them (vii).

Jehoram, the fifth king of Judah, the son of Jehoshaphat, married Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, the sixth king of Israel; and thus for a time the kingdoms were allied. Against Jehoram the Edomites revolted, and he was not able to subdue them (viii, 22).

Ahaziah, the sixth king of Judah, joined his uncle, Jehoram or Joram, king of Israel, in an attack upon the Syrians in Ramoth-gilead; but with doubtful success (viii, 29). He also joined him in defence of his kingdom, against the rebel Jehu; but the two kings were both slain, and Jehu seized the kingdom of Israel, whilst the queen, Athaliah, remained mistress of the kingdom of Judah. By the frequent rebellions the kingdom of Israel was always becoming weaker; and, from this time forward, the whole country, to the east of the Jordan, was lost to the Israelites, and fell under the king of Damascus (x, 33).

For six years Judah was governed by a queen, until

the high-priest gained over the army in favour of her grandchild Jehoash, then a child of seven years of age, and had her put to death (xi). Jehoash governed very much by the advice of the high-priest, and he repaired the house of the Lord in Jerusalem.

During his reign Israel was wholly subject to the king of Syria, Hazael of Damascus; and then to his son Benhadad. The Syrians marched so far southward as to take Gath, a city of the Philistines, and were only bought off from attacking Jerusalem by having the treasures of the temple and of the palace sent to them as a bribe (xii-xiii).

Amaziah, the eighth king of Judah, renewed the old war against Israel. At the same time he fought against the Edomites, and took the city of Selah, *the rock*, better known by its Greek name, Petra. But against Israel he was unsuccessful, and Jehoash, king of Israel, besieged Jerusalem, broke down a large portion of the wall, and carried off what treasure he could find in the temple, and then returned to Samaria, with hostages which the king of Judah gave for his quiet behaviour (xiv, 14). Thus prosperity for a short time returned to Israel, and the king gained possession of Damascus and Hamath as of old (xiv).

In the reign of Azariah, or Uzziah, the ninth king of Judah, Israel was again torn to pieces by rebellions, and weakened by the change of kings. The Assyrians, a new enemy, then invaded the land; and Pul, king of Assyria, was only bought off from his attack by a present of one thousand talents of silver (xv, 20). Such readiness, however, to pay the invader is usually the cause of other attacks; and accordingly, Tiglathpileser, the next king of Assyria, came down upon Israel with such forces, that he took possession of Gilead and Galilee, the northern half of the kingdom; and he carried off the people of those provinces as captives into Assyria (xv, 29).

But no danger from abroad could stop the civil war between Israel and Judah. The king of Israel engaged the king of Syria to help him in his attack upon Judah;

(xv), and Ahaz, the eleventh king of Judah, with equal want of wisdom, sent the treasures from the temple, to engage the king of Assyria again to march against Israel. On that occasion, however, Tiglath came no further than Damascus, which place he conquered, and he placed the captives on the banks of the river Kir, as it falls into the Caspian Sea (xvi, 9).

Israel, at that time, was spared, only because their king consented to pay a tribute to the conqueror. But his successor refused to continue this payment, and sent an embassy to Seve, king of Egypt, to ask for help against the Assyrians. Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, then marched into Samaria. For three years he pillaged the unhappy land, and carried away the nobles captive into Halah and Habor, and the cities of the Medes (xvii). Thus ended the kingdom of Israel which had lasted about two hundred and fifty years, through eighteen short reigns. The first king was a rebel, and his son was overthrown by another rebel. Such nearly was the fate of the other families that reigned over Israel; Jehu's alone lasted so long as five generations. During these years, the people of Judah never attempted to overthrow the royal family of David, and were thereby saved from the troubles which usually accompany a change of dynasty.

The conquest of the kingdom of Israel took place in the sixth year of Hezekiah, the twelfth king of Judah; and in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, Sennacherib, the next king of Assyria, invaded Judea. He took many of the fortified cities, and then encamped at Lachish, at which town he received Hezekiah's messengers, with a gift of three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold, to turn him aside from the siege of Jerusalem. Hezekiah's offence had been looking to Egypt for help; and, notwithstanding the tribute paid, and the submission made, to Assyria, the Egyptian army was still expected in Judea (xviii). Accordingly, Sennacherib sent his generals against Jerusalem, while he himself turned his own force towards the Egyptian frontier, to meet the Egyptian king, Tirha-

kah. But an angel of the Lord smote the camp of the Assyrians, and left a large part of the army dead; and Sennacherib himself returned to Nineveh (xix). Sennacherib's retreat from Judea may have been in part called for by the rising of the Babylonians, who then made themselves independent of Nineveh; and Berodach Baladan, the king of Babylon, sent an embassy with a present to Hezekiah, to engage his friendship, at a time when they were both in danger from the same enemy (xx).

Manasseh and Amon, the next two kings of Judah, reigned in peace from their foreign enemies, who were now otherwise engaged; but the latter was murdered by his people; and his son, Josiah, was only eight years old when he was placed upon the throne to govern under the guidance of the priests (xxi).

In Josiah's reign was brought forth out of the temple, by the priests, a new book of the Law, perhaps the Book of Deuteronomy (xxii). This was delivered to the king, who, in the temple, in solemn assembly, read before the people the covenant contained in that book, that they should keep the commandments of the Lord as written therein. He put down idolatry throughout the land, and he kept the passover in the eighteenth year of his reign, as commanded in that book, in manner more solemn and exact than ever it had been kept before (xxiii, 25).

When Nechoh, king of Egypt, marched through Galilee to attack the Assyrians at the Euphrates, Josiah, faithful to his allegiance to Assyria, rashly engaged with him in battle at Megiddo. Josiah was slain; and when the people set up one of his sons, Jehoahaz, as king, the Egyptian king sent him off as prisoner to Egypt, and made the land pay him a tribute of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold, and he set upon the throne Jehoiakim, another of the late king's sons, as likely to be a more obedient vassal (xxiii).

Jehoiakim, the seventeenth king of Judah, notwithstanding that he was seated on the throne by the king of Egypt, was shortly afterwards recalled to his obedi-

ence to his more powerful eastern neighbour. Assyria had lately sunk under the rising power of Babylon; and for three years Jehoiakim paid tribute to the Babylonians. He then ventured to rebel, but he was not able to defend himself. The Egyptians could no longer help him; and his unhappy country was overrun by invading armies. After his death, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, and carried off to Babylon the next king, Jehoiachin, and his nobles, as prisoners, with all the gold that was to be found in the temple.

The Babylonians did not, however, yet put an end to the monarchy; and Nebuchadnezzar thought he had found an obedient vassal in Zedekiah, the king's uncle, whom he then placed upon the throne in Jerusalem. But Zedekiah ventured, like his predecessors, to aim at independence, though far too weak to gain it. He rebelled against the Babylonians; and Nebuchadnezzar again besieged and took Jerusalem. Zedekiah was carried prisoner to Babylon; his palaces and the temple were burnt; and the Jewish monarchy was brought to a close. The nineteen kings of Judah were all of the family of David (xxv).

[In this Second Book of Kings, the history is told with the same impartiality as in the first. The payment of tribute to their more powerful neighbours is not forgotten. The blame of the civil wars is not thrown on Israel more than on Judah.

The history of the prophet Elisha, which runs through chaps, iv-xiii, like the history of Elijah, in the First Book, is unlike the rest of the narrative to which it is joined, and is by a very different writer. Part of it seems out of place. In particular, the invasion by the Syrians under Benhadad, in the reign of Jehoshaphat, and their flight at the miraculous noise, seems to be the same invasion as that mentioned in 1 Kings xx, or that in 1 Kings xxii.

In two places in this Second Book of Kings we may see how the writer has allowed himself to be misled by what was at first only a figure of speech or poetic flight. The Israelites under Jehoshaphat had no war chariots,

but they defeated the Syrian army, which was accompanied with chariots, whereupon the Psalmist (Ps. lxxviii) says that on their side were the chariots of Jehovah, which were thousands of thousands. And upon this the unpoetic historian (2 Kings, vii, 6,) says that the Syrians in this battle were alarmed by a noise of chariots in heaven. Again, another Psalmist (Ps. cii), speaking of his illness, says, "My days are like a shadow that declineth." And making use of this figure the historian (2 Kings, xx, *quoted in* Isaiah xxxviii,) says that King Hezekiah's recovery from illness was typified by the shadow going back upon the dial.]

ON THE BOOK OF EZRA.

THIS book contains the history of the return of the Jews from captivity, and their rebuilding the temple, of their being hindered by the Samaritan party, of the return home of a further body of Jews under the priest Ezra, and of Ezra's putting away the heathen wives.

Cyrus, king of Persia, in the first year of his reign, B. C. 535, makes a decree that all the Israelites may return home from all parts of his dominions, and rebuild their temple, and he restores to them the golden vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had brought out of Jerusalem (i). Then follows a list of the captives who returned from Babylon under Zerubbabel. They were 42,360 males in number besides their servants (ii). They set up the altar in Jerusalem and keep the feasts; and in the second year of their arrival they begin to build the temple (iii). The people of the northern tribes, who at the same time returned from Assyria, ask leave to join them in their pious work; but they are refused by the Jews, and the building is stopped by the jealousy of the two parties (iv, 5).

In the reign of Cambyses, here called Ahasuerus, the Samaritans send to Persia an accusation against the Jews (iv. 6).

In the reign of Smerdis, here called Artaxerxes, a decree is received in Jerusalem, ordering the work to be stopped (iv).

But in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, the Jews, under Zerubbabel, again begin to build; a new decree permitting the work is obtained from Darius, and in the sixth year of his reign, B.C. 516, the House of the Lord is finished (vi).

In the seventh year of Xerxes I., here called Artaxerxes, B.C. 478, the high-priest Ezra goes up from Babylon with another party of priests, carrying a letter from the king, which releases the priests and Levites from all taxes, and authorizes him to claim a sum of money from the royal treasurers for the service of the temple (vii). Then follows a list of Ezra's companions; they were 1,754 males in number (viii, 20). They arrive in Jerusalem, and Ezra delivers the royal letter to the king's lieutenants (viii, 36).

In Jerusalem, Ezra, by threatening excommunication, persuades the people, that is to say, the priests and Levites, and men of Benjamin and Judah, to put away their foreign wives, whether they were the Canaanite natives of the land, or Egyptians, or Moabite foreigners. Then follows a list of the priests who had married foreign wives (x).

[The latter half of this book professes to be written by Ezra, who speaks in the first person, and in all probability he wrote the whole of it in Jerusalem in the reign of Xerxes I., about the year B.C. 476. We may remark, upon its peculiarities, that the Persian monarch is here called king of Assyria (vi, 22); and that none are acknowledged to be true Jews but the 45,000 men who had been in captivity and had returned home (x, 7, 8). This narrow jealousy, which was rather increased than lessened by their misfortunes, was the sad cause of the nation's fall.

The Book of Ezra is not now complete, for we find quoted in Nehemiah two passages not now in our copies, besides a third passage, which is in both books. Thus Nehemiah vii, 6-73, is quoted from Ezra ii, 1-70. But

Nehemiah vii, 73—viii, 12, is not in our Ezra, though evidently belonging to it; it is, however, in the Greek apocryphal copy, which is called the First Book of Esdras, where it is chap. ix, 37—55. So also Nehemiah viii, 13—18, is not in our Ezra, though it seems taken from it.]

ON THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

THIS is Nehemiah's account of his being sent as governor of Jerusalem by the Persian king, Artaxerxes, of his rebuilding the city walls, and of the regulations which he made for the government of the Jews who had settled there.

In the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 445, Nehemiah, a Jew, the king's cupbearer, obtains permission to return to Jerusalem, with royal letters, which authorise him to claim timber for the repair of the temple and the city walls (i, ii). On his arrival he encourages his countrymen, who divide the work between them, and rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (iii). Sanballat, the governor of the province, and the Samaritan party, propose to stop the fortifications; but the Jews arm themselves and are not attacked (iv), and the wall is finished in fifty-two days (v, vi). Then follows a list of the Jews who had come up to Jerusalem ninety-one years before, under Zerubbabel, which is quoted from the Book of Ezra (vii).

[And here we must remark a strange blunder on the part of the scribe who wrote out this Book of Nehemiah. The passage from Ezra just quoted is, in that book, followed by an account of the Feast of Tabernacles in the seventh month (Ezra iii, 1). This account is also found in the apocryphal First Book of Esdras v, 47. The Book of Ezra once contained the account of a second Feast of Tabernacles, also, of course, in the seventh month of another year. This second account, though not now in Ezra, we find in 1 Esdras ix, 37. And the scribe of Nehemiah, misled by the

words, "when the seventh month was come," has inserted in his book this second account of a Feast of the Tabernacles instead of the first. It is chap. vii, 73—viii, 12, together with verses 13–18, which are neither in Ezra nor in the Greek first book of Esdras.]

After these quotations, Nehemiah continues his narrative. On the last day of building the city walls, the Levites humble themselves before the Almighty, and in the name of the nation renew their covenant with Him (ix). To this the heads of the people set their seals; and promise to walk according to his laws, and to bring their offerings to his temple (x). The rulers of the people, together with one man in ten of the rest, dwell in Jerusalem, the others withdraw to their own cities (xi).

Then follows a list of twenty-two chief priests and six Levites, who came up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and of their sons, who held the same rank in the time of Nehemiah (xii, 1–26). [This whole list seems an addition not written by Nehemiah himself. At any rate, part of it is by a later hand, as it contains a list of the descendants of the chief priest Jeshua down to the time of Jaddua, who lived under Alexander the Great.]

The narrative then continues. The city wall is dedicated to God with great solemnity by the priests and Levites (xii). On the same day the command in the Book of Deuteronomy (chap. xxiii, 3,) is read before the people, that the Ammonite and Moabite are not to enter into the congregation for ever. When Nehemiah came to Jerusalem a second time B.C. 433, he reforms many of the abuses. The gates of Jerusalem are shut against all traders who would bring in their goods on the Sabbath, to the profanation of that day; and the people are exhorted to put away their foreign wives (xiii).

[We may remark that the Nehemiah who came up with Zerubbabel, on the first return from captivity, and is mentioned in chap. vii, 6, may perhaps be the same person as Nehemiah, the Tirshatha or governor of chap. viii, 9, and also as the Tirshatha of chap. vii, 65, who, in 1 Esdras v, 40, is called Nehemiah; but he

cannot possibly be the same person as the writer of this book, who lived so much later, and who is called the Tirshatha in chap. x, 1.

As Nehemiah returned to Persia, and came back again to Jerusalem before he wrote the history, we may suppose that it was written about B.C. 433.]

ON THE TWO BOOKS OF THE CHRONICLES.

THE Chronicles begin with the descent of the several nations from Adam (i). Then follow the genealogies of the heads of the Israelitish nation from Jacob, who is here called Israel (ix). The reign of David fills the remainder of the First Book. The Second Book contains the reign of Solomon, and the history of the kingdom of Judah, till it was overthrown by the Babylonians. The whole is so nearly the same as what we have read in Genesis, Samuel, and Kings, that we must suppose that it was written with the help of those books, and we proceed to examine where it differs from them.

The descent of the several nations is the same as in the Book of Genesis, and, in particular, it includes the double origin for the Arabic tribes of Havilah and Sheba, which is given in Genesis x.

The genealogies of the Israelites are not quite the same as in those earlier books. David's family is given with greater fulness, as are the families of the priests, which are copied from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, with some additions.

After the genealogies, when the Books of Kings and Chronicles run side by side, the difference between them is very remarkable. The Book of Kings contains the history of both kingdoms, Israel and Judah; the Book of Chronicles contains only Judah. The Book of Kings states the faults of both with such impartiality, that we might fancy its author lived on the east side of the Jordan; but the Book of Chronicles often omits to

blame, or even to mention, the faults of the kings of Judah. The Book of Chronicles is far less accurate than the other, and shows a strong priestly bias, a love of the ceremonial worship, and a wish to praise the Levites.

Thus, the Book of Chronicles does not mention that King Abijah walked in all the sins of his father (*see* 1 Kings, xv, 1-3), nor that the brazen serpent was worshipped in Judah until the reign of Hezekiah (*see* 2 Kings xviii, 4).

No mention is made in Chronicles of David's concubines, nor of his crime with Bathsheba, spoken of in 2 Sam. v, 13, and xi; nor of Solomon's seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, spoken of in 1 Kings xi.

In 1 Kings xxii we learn that Jehoshaphat made a ship at Ezion-geber of the class called ships of Tarshish, which was to go to Ophir for gold. In 2 Chron. xx, 36, with a strange ignorance of geography, this ship is said to be built in order to go to Tarshish. In 2 Chron. xviii Jehoshaphat's army is said to amount to 1,160,000 men, besides the garrisons in the cities. This must be either an exaggeration or a mistake; for since the land was only a tenth part of the size of England, all the males, even including the children, cannot have amounted to so large a number.

The Chronicles make no mention of King Hezekiah buying off the attack of Sennacherib by sending to him at Lachish the sacred treasure from the House of the Lord (*see* 2 Kings, xviii).

From a comparison of these, and many other passages, we remark that the Chronicles are far less authentic than the Books of Kings. They were written with a Levitical bias, and are more modern than the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. They were probably written about B.C. 400; for, though the genealogies in 1 Chron. iii come down to about B.C. 300, the latter names may easily be a modern addition. With this exception, the two Books of Chronicles, in their present form, seem to have been wholly written at one time.

David's song of thanksgiving on bringing the ark to Jerusalem is formed out of Psalms cv and xcvi, which were probably written after the captivity. The end of Solomon's Prayer, on dedicating the temple (2 Chron. vi, 41), is in part quoted from Psalm cxxxii, 8, a psalm written for the second dedication of the temple in the time of Zerubbabel.

ON THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

THIS book contains an account of the Jews gaining from Ahasuerus, king of Persia, an important decree in their favour by means of Esther, a beautiful Jewish maiden, whom the king chose for his favourite wife; and it relates the origin of the Jewish Feast of Purim.

Ahasuerus, when giving a grand feast to his nobles in the palace at Shushan, sends for Queen Vashti to show her beauty to his riotous guests; but the queen, in modesty, refuses to obey his summons (i). Thereupon he puts her away, and has all the handsomest young women of the kingdom brought before him, and of these he chooses Esther for his queen, as being the fairest of them all. Soon afterwards, Mordecai, her uncle, sent word to the king, through her, of a plot against his life by two of the chamberlains (ii). Haman, the king's chief minister, is offended with Mordecai, and obtains a decree that every Jew, man, woman, and child, shall be put to death, throughout the kingdom, on a day therein named (iii). Esther undertakes to go to the king and entreat his favour for her nation (iv). Haman plans the death of Mordecai the Jew, but is himself put to death by the king (v, vi, vii). And, lastly, Esther obtains from the king a decree authorising the Jews throughout the kingdom to defend themselves by arms, and to kill their enemies; and they ever after kept the fourteenth day of the month of Adar as a day of feasting, called the Feast of Purim, because they, on that day,

slew three hundred of their enemies at Shushan (viii, ix, x).

[In the Greek translation, Ahasuerus, a name common to many Persian kings, is called Artaxerxes. He is described as "the Ahasuerus who reigned from India to Ethiopia over one hundred and twenty-seven provinces," showing that between that time and the writing of the book others had reigned, but this was the greatest. He was probably the Artaxerxes mentioned in *Ezra* vii, commonly called Xerxes I, who died B. C. 464, or possibly Artaxerxes Longimanus mentioned in *Nehemiah* ii. 1; and the book must be at least one hundred years more modern. In the Septuagint there is a postscript to the book which says that a copy of it was brought to Alexandria in the fourth year of Ptolemy Philometor; hence this book was written between the years B. C. 360 and 160. The postscript here spoken of is now placed as part of the Apocrypha. The whole is written in a boastful exaggerating tone; it is wholly free from all traces of religious feeling, and blackened by a spirit of revenge against the nation's enemies. It shows some knowledge of Persian manners and customs. It bears very few marks of historical accuracy; but, nevertheless, it is very probable that one of the king's wives may have been a Jewess, and that she may have been the cause of the favour shown to the Jews in the reign of Xerxes I, when *Ezra* obtained a decree in their favour (*see* *Ezra* vii), or in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when *Nehemiah* obtained a similar decree.]

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE chief difficulties in the chronology are before the death of Solomon. After that time, the reigns of the kings of Judah and kings of Israel are both given by the historian; and we soon come to the reign of Hezekiah, when we have a recorded Babylonian eclipse, in C. Ptolemy's *Astronomy*, to fix the time. Other Babylonian eclipses follow, to fix the date of the Captivity.

Thus the chronology may be divided into three parts. The first is before the beginning of history, properly so called, before the time of Abraham, and is measured by the generations, or by adding together the ages of the patriarchs at the birth of their children. The second is from Abraham to Solomon, and is measured partly by the generations, and partly by the historians giving an opinion about the time between distant events. The third is from Solomon to the Captivity, and is measured by the kings' reigns.

The years between the Creation and the Migration of Abraham, in Genesis, chap. v, xi, and xii, are 2,021; or 1,556 between the Creation and the Flood, and 465 between the Flood and the Migration. But the Greek translators of the Bible, living in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, having the buildings, and sculptures, and writings of Egypt before their eyes, and knowing its high state of civilization when Abraham came there, seem to have thought more years were required to explain the world's progress in arts and sciences. Accordingly they added 586 years before the Flood and 880 after, by making the patriarchs, for the most part, 100 years older when their children were born. The two schemes may be thus compared:—

	In the Hebrew.	In the Greek.	Difference.
The genealogies in chap. v. . .	1556 yrs.	2142	586
The genealogies in chap. xi, xii to Abraham's migration . . .	465 ,,	1345	880
Totals . . .	<u>2021</u>	<u>3487</u>	<u>1466</u>

Here we are tempted to make two conjectures; first, that in the Hebrew figures there is an error of twenty years, and that the writer meant to say that the world was 2,000 years old when the promises were given to Abraham on his migration; secondly, that in the Greek figures there is a mistake of six years in Lamech's age; and that the translators meant to add an exact Egyptian cycle of 1,460 years to the world's age as given in the Hebrew Bible.

The years between Abraham's migration out of

Chaldæa and Solomon's death, are thus given in the Hebrew and in the Greek:—

	In the Hebrew.	In the Greek.
Abraham older at Isaac's birth than at the migration	Gen. xxi, 5 . 25 yrs.	
Isaac's age at Jacob's birth	xxv, 20 . 40	
Jacob's age on entering Egypt	xlvii, 9 . 130	
Time in Egypt in the Hebrew, or since migration in the Greek	Exod. xii, 40 . 430	. 430
From Exodus to Solomon's fourth year	1 Kings vi, 1 . 480	. 440
To Solomon's death	xi, 42 . 36	. 36
Totals	1141	906

The period of 516 years in the Hebrew, from the Exodus to Solomon's death, the writer of the Book of Kings probably calculated for himself out of the very books which we now possess, and in nearly the following way:—

From the Exodus		Years.
To the espying of the land	Numb. x, 11 .	2
To Caleb's conversation with Joshua	Josh. xiv, 7 .	45
To Joshua's death		—
Servitude under Mesopotamia	Judg. iii, 8 .	8
Othniel ruled	iii, 11 .	40
Servitude under Moab	iii, 14 .	18
The land had rest	iii, 30 .	80
During this long time Ehud judged	iv, 1 .	
Servitude under Canaan	iv, 3 .	20
Rest under Deborah	v, 31 .	40
Servitude under Midian	vi, 1 .	7
Gideon ruled	viii, 28 .	40
Abimelech reigned	ix, 22 .	3
Tola judged	x, 2 .	23
Jair judged (5th in descent from Jacob)	x, 3 .	22
Servitude under the Philistines and others	x, 8 .	18
Jephthah judged (5th in descent from Jacob)	xii, 7 .	6
Ibzan judged	xii, 9 .	7
Elon judged	xii, 11 .	10
Abdon judged	xii, 14 .	8
Servitude under the Philistines (Samson and Eli)	xiii, 1 .	40
Samuel judged and Saul reigned		—
David reigned	1 Kings ii, 11 .	40
Solomon reigned (12th in descent from Jacob)	xi, 42 .	40

These figures, if added together, give a total of 517 years. But it is clear that many of the periods are embraced within others, and to two no number of years is given. Accordingly, in the Hebrew of the First Book of Kings (vi, 1 and xi, 42), it is treated as 516 years, and in the Greek as forty years less, or 476 years. Other early Jewish authorities must have taken this period as much longer; for Paul, in Acts xiii, 18–20, says, that after the Exodus the Israelites were forty years in the desert, and about 450 years under Judges till the time of Samuel. This makes the time between the Exodus and Solomon's death about 610 years.

But to return to the chronology of the Hebrew Bible. The time of Solomon's death is pretty certainly known as B.C. 975. Measuring along the reigns of his successors, it is 275 years before the eclipse in the reign of Hezekiah, which is recorded by Ptolemy as in the first year of the reign of Mardock Empadus. Thus from the quotations above, we form the following table of the chronology of our Hebrew Bible:—

	B.C.
From the Creation	4137
1556 years to the Flood	2581
465 years to Abraham's migration	2116
195 years to Jacob's arrival in Egypt	1921
430 years to the Exodus	1491
516 years to Solomon's death	975

If the inquirer now wishes to form for himself on critical grounds a scheme of chronology founded on these materials, he will probably think the Alexandrian critics hardly bold enough in their departure from the Hebrew, though he cannot but blame them for altering the text of the Bible. He will think with them that the civilization of the world in the time of Abraham can hardly have been the growth of the short period of 2,000 years. At that time Egypt enjoyed the advantages of laws, of civil government, of hereditary monarchy, of military discipline, of a learned priesthood, of writing by means of hieroglyphics, of agriculture, of sculpture, and of architecture. But he will

hardly think with the Alexandrians, that the difficulty is removed by adding the short period of 1,460 years to the world's age. We can form no opinion of the length of time needed to produce such wonderful results. And if man was endowed with this knowledge at his creation, the 1,460 years would not be needed.

For the times between Abraham and Solomon, which are of uncertain length, but within the province of history, we may take two rules for our guidance. 1st. That no part of an ancient writing is so little to be trusted as the figures, whether in the number of years or number of the population; and, therefore, when the reigns or genealogies contradict the numbers of years, it will not be safe to rely on the numbers. 2nd. When two modes of reasoning lead to different results, it will be safer to take the shorter periods of time; as ancient historians have more often made the intervals of time, like the population of a country, or the distance between towns, too large. Now, if we suppose all Solomon's subjects, children of Israel as they called themselves, were really children of Jacob, the time we are speaking of would be far too short. A great nation could not have been born of one family in a thousand years. But if we rely upon the genealogies, which, indeed, agree with the reigns of the Judges, as shown in page 48; and if we remember that Moses was only fourth in descent from Jacob, and Solomon was only the twelfth in descent from Jacob, we must think that the Alexandrian critics did not do enough in shortening the time of the residence in Egypt, or the time between the Exodus and Solomon. In this case we cannot allow much more than 100 years for the residence in Egypt, nor 300 years from the Exodus to Solomon. We shall have to conjecture that many other Chaldees migrated towards Egypt and Canaan besides Abraham; that there were many followers of Moses who were not children of Jacob; that many fought under Joshua who had not followed Moses through the desert; and that many more shared in the division of the lands taken

from the Canaanites who had not crossed the Jordan with Joshua. The events, indeed, in the history from the Exodus to Solomon's death, can hardly occupy more than three centuries, if we observe that the times mentioned are mostly in round numbers of forty years each, which we are at liberty to consider indefinite, and only to mean several years.

The following table shows the more probable dates of these events, as fixed by the genealogies and by the reigns of the Judges that ruled over Ephraim and Manasseh. No notice is taken of the events belonging to the other parts of the country:—

GENEALOGIES.		REIGNS OF JUDGES AND KINGS.	
B.C. 1400	Judah born		
	Pharez born . . .	. . .	<i>Residence in Egypt.</i>
	Esrom born		
1300	Aram born . . .	. . .	<i>Exodus under Moses.</i>
	Aminadab born . . .	. . .	<i>Wandering in the Desert.</i>
		. . .	<i>Joshua's invasion of Canaan.</i>
		. . .	<i>Amalekite and Midianite rule.</i>
1200	Naasson born . . .	. . .	Gideon judges.
		. . .	Abimelech judges.
	Salmon born . . .	. . .	Tola judges.
		. . .	Jair judges.
	Boaz born . . .	. . .	<i>Ammonite invasion.</i>
		. . .	Jephthah; Ibzan.
1100	Obed born . . .	. . .	Elon; Abdon.
	Jesse born . . .	. . .	Samuel judges.
	David born . . .	. . .	Saul reigns.
	Solomon born . . .	. . .	David reigns.
		. . .	Solomon reigns.
975			Solomon's death.

After Solomon's reign the difficulties in the chronology become less. The following table is formed by taking the length of the kings' reigns out of the Book of Kings and the Book of Chronicles, and calculating backwards from the eclipse recorded at Babylon in the reign of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus:—

Kings of Judah.	B.C.	Kings of Israel.
Rehoboam	975	Jeroboam.
Abijam, his son	958	
Asa, his son	955	
	954	Nadab, his son.

Kings of Judah.	B.C.	Kings of Israel.
	952 .	Baasha.
	930 .	Elah, his son.
	929 .	Omri.
	918 .	Ahab, his son.
Jehoshaphat	914	
	897 .	Ahaziah, his son.
	896 .	Jehoram, son of Ahab.
Jehoram	891	
Ahaziah	884	
Queen Athaliah	884 .	Jehu.
Joash	877	
	856 .	Jehoahaz, his son.
	840 .	Joash, his son.
Amaziah	838	
	825 .	Jeroboam II., his son.
Uzziah	811	
	773 .	Zachariah, his son.
	773 .	Shallum.
	773 .	Menahem.
	761 .	Pekahiah, his son.
Jotham	759 .	Pekah.
Ahaz	743	
	731 .	Hosea.
Hezekiah	728	
	722 .	Conquest by Assyria.
Manasseh	699	
Amon	644	
Josiah	642	
Jehoahaz	611	
Jehoiakim	611	
Jehoiachin or Jeconiah .	600	
Conquest by Babylon . .	600	
Zedekiah	600	
End of the Monarchy . .	588	
Cyrus grants permission to the Jews to return home	535	
Ezra sent to Jerusalem by Xerxes	478	
Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem	432	
The Romans conquer Jeru- salem	63	
The walls of Jerusalem re- built, 483 years after Cyrus' decree (Josephus, Wars, I. viii.)	53	

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

THE Egyptians are the earliest people known to us as a nation. While Abraham and his countrymen were moving about in tents and waggons, the Egyptians were living in cities and enjoying all the advantages of a settled government and established laws. They had already cultivated agriculture, and parcelled out their valley into farms; they revered a landmark as a god, while their neighbours knew of no property but herds and moveables. They had invented hieroglyphics and improved them into syllabic writing, and almost into an alphabet. They had invented records, and wrote their kings' names and actions on the massive temples which they raised.

Of course we have no means of counting the ages during which civilization was slowly making these steps of improvement. Overlooking, therefore, those years when the gods were said to have reigned upon earth, and the times of Menes the fabulous founder of the monarchy, history begins with the earliest remaining records. These are the temple at Karnak and the obelisk at Heliopolis, both raised by Osirtesen I. of Thebes, and the great pyramids built by Suphis and Sensuphis, kings of Memphis, with the tablets in the copper mines near Sinai, which record the conquest of that country by Suphis, and prove that those mines had been already worked by the Egyptians. Such was the state of Egypt about 1,600 or 1,700 years before our era.

It was divided into several little kingdoms, whose boundaries cannot now be exactly known. In the valley to the south of Silsilis was the kingdom of Elephantine. Next was the kingdom of Thebes, which perhaps included all the valley to the east of the river. It had a port at *Ænum* on the Red Sea, and thus traded with Arabia. Next was the kingdom of This, or Abydos, on the west of the river, which had a little trade with the Great Oasis; and then the kingdom of Heracleopolis, also on the western bank.

Next was the kingdom of Memphis, embracing the western half of the Delta, which in the reign of Suphis had been strong enough to conquer Thebes and the peninsula of Sinai. In the east of the Delta were the kingdoms of Bubastis, Xoïs, and Tanis.

It was in the time of these little monarchies that the Chaldean and Phœnician herdsmen were moving westward, and settling quietly in the Delta. But after a few generations, as their numbers increased, they took possession of some of the cities, and levied a tribute from the Egyptians. Their sovereigns were called the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, who dwelt at Abaris, probably the city afterwards called Heliopolis, and they held their ground in Egypt for about six reigns. The tyranny, however, of the Hyksos at length led the states of Egypt to unite against them; and Amasis, king of Thebes, making common cause with the kings of the other parts of Egypt, defeated these hateful but warlike Phœnicians, and drove them out of the country. This may have taken place about fourteen hundred and fifty years before our era, and about two hundred years after the reign of Osirtesen I.

B. C. 1450.—With Amasis and the expulsion of the Shepherds began the reigns of those great Theban kings, whose temples, and statues, and obelisks, and tombs, have for more than three thousand years made the valley of the Nile a place of such interest to travellers. The kings of the other parts of Egypt sank to the rank of sovereign priests. Amunothph I gained Ethiopia by marriage. Thothmosis II, by his marriage with Queen Nitocris, the builder of the third pyramid, added Memphis to his dominions. Thothmosis IV, built the temple between the fore-paws of the great sphinx. Amunothph III set up his two gigantic statues in the plain of Thebes, one of which uttered its musical notes every morning at sunrise.

It was at the beginning of this period, before Memphis was united to Thebes, that the Israelites settled in the Delta, and Joseph, as prime minister of the King of Memphis, changed the laws of Lower Egypt. And it

was after Thebes and Memphis were united, when Joseph's services had been forgotten, that Moses led his countrymen out of Egypt to escape the tyranny of their masters. The Egyptian religion at this time was the worship of a crowd of gods, of which some were stone statues, and others living animals; and it was against these and other Egyptian superstitions that many of the laws of Moses are pointedly directed.

It was then that the great buildings of Egypt were made. Oimeneptah I added to the temples of Thebes and of Abydos. Rameses II covered Egypt, and Ethiopia, and the coasts of the Red Sea with his temples and obelisks and statues. He fought successfully against the neighbouring Arabs, and marched through the land of the Philistines northward, a little before the heroic struggles of Samson against the same people. Rameses III still further ornamented Thebes with his architecture.

The tombs of these kings are large rooms quarried into the Libyan hills opposite to Thebes, with walls covered with paintings still fresh, and with hieroglyphics which we are attempting to read. The columns which upheld their temples are the models from which the Greeks afterwards copied. Their statues, though not graceful, are grand and simple, free from false ornament, and often colossal. Their wealth was proverbial with the neighbouring nations; and the remaining monuments of their magnificence prove that Egypt was at this time a highly civilized country, to which its neighbours looked up with wonder. The Jewish nation was weak and struggling with difficulties before the reign of David; the history of Greece begins with the Trojan war; but before the time of David and the Trojan war, the power and glory of Thebes had already passed away. Upper Egypt sank under the rising power of the Delta. Theban prosperity had lasted for about five hundred years.

B.C. 990.—On the fall of Thebes, Shishank, king of Bubastis in the Delta, became king of all Egypt. He gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon, and as a

dower he besieged and conquered, and gave to the Israelites, Gezer, a hill fortress in Samaria, which had hitherto defied the Hebrew arms. But he afterwards quarrelled with the Hebrew monarch, and then became the friend of every one who was Solomon's enemy. He set up the Edomites in rebellion against the Jews, and helped the young Hadad to become king of Edom (1 Kings, xi, 19). On the death of Solomon, Shishank fought against Rehoboam the next king of Judah, (2 Chron. xii, 2), and left an account of his victories over him, carved on the walls of the great temple of Karnak in Thebes. After his death, Egypt was torn to pieces by civil wars. Zerah, king of Ethiopia, was able to march through the whole length of the land when hastening to attack Judea (2 Chron. xiv, 9). For a few reigns Egypt was governed by kings of Tanis. Then the kings of Ethiopia reigned in Thebes; and So or Seve (2 Kings xvii, 4), and Tirhakah (2 Kings xix, 9) led the armies of Egypt to help the Israelites against the Assyrians. This unsettled state of affairs lasted nearly three hundred years, during which, as the prophet Isaiah had foretold, Egyptians fought against Egyptians, every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom (Isaiah xix, 2). This was put an end to by the city of Sais rising to the mastery, helped by the greater number of Greeks that had settled there, and by the greater skill in arms of the Greek mercenaries, whom the kings of Sais took into their pay.

B.C. 697.—Under the kings of Sais, Egypt again enjoyed a high degree of prosperity. They were more despotic than the kings of Thebes. They hired Greek mercenaries, and struggled with the Babylonians for the dominion of Judea. Psammetichus conquered Ethiopia. Necho began the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. His sailors circumnavigated Africa. He conquered Jerusalem (2 Kings xxiii, 29–35); and when the Chaldees afterwards drove back the Egyptian army, the remnant of Judah, with the prophet Jeremiah,

retreated into Egypt to seek a refuge with king Hophra (Jeremiah xlii, xliii). The colony of Greeks at Naucratis, a little below Sais, now became more important. The Greek philosophers, Thales and Solon, visited the country, brought there by trade and the wish for knowledge. Hecataeus of Miletus went up as high as Thebes, and Pythagoras dwelt many years among the priests. But Egyptian greatness now rested on a weak foundation. Jealousy increased between the native soldiers and the more favoured mercenaries. The armies in Asia met with a more powerful enemy than formerly. Nebuchadnezzar defeated them on the banks of the Euphrates; Cyrus reconquered the island of Cyprus; and lastly, Cambyses overran Egypt and reduced it to the rank of a Persian province.

B.C. 523.—For two hundred years Egypt suffered severely under its Persian rulers, or else from its own struggles for freedom, when the Persian armies were called off by warfare in another quarter. Cambyses plundered the tombs and temples, broke the statues, and scourged the priests. Darius governed more mildly by native satraps; but after his defeat at Marathon, the Egyptians rose and made themselves independent for two or three years. Afterwards when Bactria rebelled against Artaxerxes, they again rose and made Inarus and Anyrtæus kings. Then for a few years Hellanicus and Herodotus, and other inquiring Greeks, were able to enter Egypt, and study the customs of this remarkable people. When the Egyptians were again conquered, Darius Nothus attempted to alter the religion of the country. But when the civil war broke out between Artaxerxes Mnemon, and the younger Cyrus, the Egyptians rebelled a third time against the Persians, and with the help of the Greeks were again an independent monarchy. Plato and Eudoxus then visited the country, and studied in the school where Moses gained his learning, and Jeremiah wrote his Lamentations. The fourth conquest by the Persians was the last, and Egypt was governed by a Persian satrap, till, by the union among the Greek states, the Greek merce-

naries were withdrawn from the barbarian armies, and Persia was conquered by Alexander the Great.

B.C. 332.—The Greeks had before settled in Lower Egypt in such numbers, that as soon as Alexander's army occupied Memphis, they found themselves the ruling class. Egypt became in a moment a Greek kingdom; and Alexander showed his wisdom in the regulations by which he guarded the prejudices and religion of the Egyptians, who were henceforth to be treated as inferiors, and forbidden to carry arms. He founded Alexandria as the Greek capital. Soon after his death, his lieutenant Ptolemy made himself king of Egypt, and was the first of a race of monarchs who governed for three hundred years, and made it a second time the chief kingdom in the world, till it sank under its own luxuries and vices and the rising power of Rome. The Ptolemies founded a large public library, and a museum of learned men. Under their patronage, Theocritus, Callimachus, Lycophron, and Apollonius Rhodius wrote their poems; Euclid wrote his Elements of Geometry; Apollonius of Perga invented conic sections; Hipparchus made a catalogue of the stars; Eratosthenes measured the size of the earth; Homer was edited; anatomy was studied. But poetry soon sank under the despotism; and the writers were then contented to clothe science in verse. Aratus wrote an astronomical poem; Manetho an astrological poem; Nicander a medical poem; and afterwards Dionysius a geographical poem. The Bible also was translated into Greek in Egypt, and thus became known for the first time to the Pagan world. The second Book of Maccabees and the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach were both written at this time in Alexandria.

Under these Alexandrian kings, the native Egyptians continued building their grand and massive temples nearly in the style of those built by the kings of Thebes and Sais. The temples in the island of Philæ, in the Great Oasis, at Latopolis, at Ombos, at Dendera, and at Thebes, prove that the Ptolemies had not wholly crushed the zeal and energy of the Egyptians. An

Egyptian phalanx had been formed, armed and disciplined like the Greeks. These soldiers rebelled against the weakness of Epiphanes, but without success; and then Thebes rebelled against Soter II; but was so crushed and punished, that it never again held rank among cities.

But while the Alexandrians were keeping down the Egyptians, they were themselves sinking under the Romans. Epiphanes asked for Roman help; his two sons appealed to the senate to settle their quarrels and guard the kingdom from Syrian invasion. Alexander II was placed on the throne by the Romans; and Auletes went to Rome to ask for help against his subjects. Lastly, the beautiful Cleopatra, the disgrace of her country and the firebrand of the Roman Republic, maintained her power by surrendering her person first to Julius Cæsar, and then to Mark Antony.

B.C. 30.—On the defeat of Mark Antony by Augustus, Egypt became a province of Rome, and was governed by the emperors with suspicious jealousy. It was still a Greek state, and Alexandria was the chief seat of Greek learning and science. Its library, which had been burnt by Cæsar's soldiers, had been replaced by that from Pergamus. The Egyptians yet continued building temples, and covering them with hieroglyphics as of old. But on the spread of Christianity, the old superstitions went out of use; the animals were no longer worshipped; and we find few hieroglyphical inscriptions after the reign of Commodus. Now rose in Alexandria the Christian catechetical school, which produced Clemens and Origen. The sects of Gnostics united astrology and magic with religion. The school of Alexandrian Platonists produced Plotinus and Proclus. Monasteries were built all over Egypt, and Christian monks took the place of the pagan hermits.

A.D. 337.—On the division of the Roman empire, Egypt fell to the lot of Constantinople. On the rise of the Arian controversy, the Egyptians belonged to the Athanasian party, while the Greeks of Alexandria were chiefly Arians. Hence a new cause of weakness to the

government. Under Theodosius, Paganism and Arianism were forbidden by law, the library was burnt by the Athanasians, and the last traces of science retreated from Alexandria before ignorance and bigotry. Copies, however, and translations of the Bible, were still made there for the rest of Christendom. The Ethiopic translation, and three Coptic translations, were there made; the Armenian translation and the Syriac translation were both brought into Egypt to be corrected according to the most approved Alexandrian text; and the Latin translation, which, when afterwards corrected by Jerome, became the Vulgate of the Western World, was probably made in Alexandria. But the country fell off every year in civilization, in population, and in strength; and when the Arabs, A.D. 640, animated by religion, and with all the youth and vigour of a new people, burst forth upon their neighbours, Egypt was conquered by the followers of Mahomet, six hundred and seventy years after it had been conquered by the Romans.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF EDMOM.

THE Edomites were an Arab race who dwelt in the desert country between the Dead Sea and the Red Sea. The Israelites acknowledged them as their kindred, and in the genealogies of their own and the neighbouring nations, said that Edom, the father of the Edomites, was the same person as Esau, the brother of Jacob their own forefather (Gen. xxv, 30). They were a warlike and unsettled people who dwelt in tents, and whose whole property was in their cattle, their waggons, and what their waggons could carry. They did not cultivate the soil. Indeed they owned but few spots where the industry of the husbandman would be largely rewarded. They had no respect for a landmark. They did not grant that any man was the owner of the field which he cultivated; and, unless stopped by force, would readily feed their cattle upon their neighbour's

crops. Like the Ishmaelites, their hand was against every man and every man's hand against them.

Their desert home was bounded on the north by the cultivated land of Judea on one side of the Dead Sea, and by that of the Moabites on the other. The Moabites were of the same race, though of rather more settled habits than themselves; and in southern Judea the lower classes at least were nearly the same in blood as these Arab neighbours. On the north-west the Edomites touched upon the Philistines, a warlike people of the same race with themselves, but more settled in their habits, and idolators; whom the Jews in their hatred called of a wholly foreign race, and who had lately been driven out of Egypt. On the west they were separated from Egypt by the Midianites of Mount Sinai, and by the desert to the north of Mount Sinai. On the east and on the south the wide desert of Arabia was thinly peopled by other Arabs of the same wandering unsettled habits, of whom their nearest neighbours were the Sabeans, and Hagarites, and other tribes of Midianites. The most marked geographical feature in their country is the valley which joins the two seas, now called the Wady Araba. It is bounded on the west by the low hills of the deserts of Sin and Paran, and on the east by a lofty range, the northern half of which is called Mount Seir, and the southern half Mount Hor. In this range was situated the town of Petra, the chief fastness of the Edomites. All these people of the desert, like the Israelites themselves, were strict believers in one only God.

The Edomites in their desert were not without some sources of wealth. As long as the navigation of the sea was difficult, their country offered the readiest route for the passage of merchants from the Persian Gulf to Egypt. The caravans, or troops of camels laden with merchandise, passed from the head of the Persian Gulf to Edom, and from thence to the Hebrew cities on the east of the Delta. Towns arose on the spots which gave water to the camels and their owners on the march; they flourished for some centuries, and they

began to fall when it was found that the merchandise of the east could be carried more cheaply along the southern coast of Arabia, and up the Red Sea. The improvements in navigation, and the geographical discoveries marked by the voyage of Scylax in the reign of Darius, by that of Eudoxus in the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes II., and by that of Hippalus in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, slowly but certainly ruined these cities in the desert.

The peninsula of Sinai, between the two gulfs at the head of the Red Sea, was held by the Midianites, another tribe of Arabs, who were usually at peace with Egypt, and dependent on that great kingdom. The Egyptians not only worked the copper mines in the peninsula, and held Feiran, the chief town, but also several little towns on the coast, more particularly one at the head of the eastern gulf, named Eziongeber, in a spot still marked by its Egyptian name Wady Tabe, the Valley of the *City*. They thus for a long time held what might have been of great value to the Edomites, had they known how to use it, the only port on the Red Sea which naturally belonged to that tribe. When Moses, after escaping out of Egypt, reached Eziongeber, and there left the friendly Midianites, he asked leave of the Edomites to pass through their land (Numb. x, 29); but he was refused, and he was not strong enough to force his way; and he thereupon made a circuit through the countries to the east of Mount Hor, and reached the valley of the Jordan through the land of Moab. From that time forward, or at least as soon as Judea had a history, its wars with those troublesome neighbours the Edomites were almost unceasing.

When the twelve tribes of Israelites first placed their armies in obedience to one leader, and made Saul their king, the Edomites were among the enemies from whom he had to clear the frontier (1 Sam. xiv, 47). As the Hebrew kingdom grew stronger, David, after conquering the Philistines, the Moabites, and the Syrians, put garrisons in the chief cities of Edom, to stop their

inroads for the future (2 Sam. viii, 14). The Edomites had been for many generations living under one little chief or king, and the names were known of seven kings who ruled over them before the time of David. But they were too unsettled to allow of the power descending from father to son; and the cities of Teman and Bozrah, and other places, in their turn gave chiefs to the whole tribe (Gen. xxxvi., and 1 Chron. i, 43). Joab, the captain of David's forces, put an end to this line of kings, and remained six months in Edom, and he slew every man and every male child in the land, that did not escape from him by flight. Among those who fled was Hadad, a son of the chief, whose servants carried him off in safety and brought him into Egypt, where he was kindly received and taken care of by the king of Bubastis (1 Kings, xi, 15). For the rest of David's reign, and for the greater part of Solomon's reign, the Edomites remained in quiet obedience to the king of Judea; and not before that time could have been written the words in Deuteronomy, "Thou shalt not hate an Edomite, for he is thy brother" (xxiii, 7).

It is probable that during the quiet of Solomon's reign, the caravans through the land of the Edomites were more numerous, and the wealth of the cities greater, than when the country was independent. The most important route was from Dedan on the Persian Gulf, through Teman, and thence on to Egypt. Another great route, which crossed the first near Petra, was from Sheba in south Arabia, to Jerusalem (Job vi, 19, Isaiah xxi, 13-14). To increase that portion of the trade which brought goods from the coasts of the Red Sea to Jerusalem, Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre jointly fitted out a merchant-ship at Eziongeber, the port at the head of the Ælanitic Gulf. The ship was of the largest class and called a ship of Tarsus, taking its name from that city so famous for ship-building. Hiram manned it with his Tyrian sailors, and Solomon probably supplied the timber. The ship was launched once in three years. As they sailed only when the wind was in the stern, and bartered

along the coast, touching at the several ports, their progress was slow. The half-year's northerly wind might take them as far as Zanzibar on the coast of Africa near to the equator. As it would be necessary there to spend some months in exchanging their goods with the natives, the wind would keep them a whole twelvemonth. The half-year's southerly wind would then bring them home again to Eziongeber, by the end of the second year. There the third year would be spent in port, while their foreign treasures were sent on to Tyre and Jerusalem. This new trade was no loss to the cities of Edom; the caravans from Eziongeber all passed through their country. Solomon's ships brought home gold from Ophir, the port of the Nubian gold mines, with apes, ivory, ebony, and parrots from the countries beyond Abyssinia (1 Kings, ix, x).

But as Solomon's life drew towards a close his power grew weaker. He had married an Egyptian princess, a daughter of Shishank of Bubastis; and his first trouble came from his father-in-law. As we have already seen, when young Hadad the Edomite fled from David, he was kindly received in Egypt. After a time, Shishank gave him the sister of his own queen to wife; and Hadad's son Genubath was brought up in the palace at Bubastis with the Egyptian princes. Shishank, king of Bubastis, afterwards became king of all Egypt, and too strong to value his alliance with the Israelites. He was probably jealous of Solomon's interfering with his trade on the Red Sea. So he sent back Hadad, who was now upwards of forty years old, to raise the Edomites in rebellion against Solomon, and to make himself king. The Edomites were too little civilised to understand the advantage of trade. They readily followed Hadad in an attack upon their old enemies the Israelites (1 Kings, xi, 14). They at once stopped Solomon's trade on the Red Sea, and no doubt very much lessened their own wealth, which had been flowing in upon them by the trade through their rocky and sandy country.

Eighty years afterwards, B.C. 897, Jehoshaphat, king

of Judah, again made the Edomites submit. He dethroned their king, and sent a deputy from Jerusalem to reign over them. He also attempted to regain the trade of the Red Sea, which had been so profitable to Solomon. For this purpose, he built a number of merchant vessels at Eziongeber, the spot fixed upon by Solomon for his port. But he was not strong enough for this undertaking, in the midst of such an unsettled and warlike race of people. His port was attacked and his ships broken to pieces either by the Edomites or by the Egyptians; and the Israelites were never again masters of the trade on the Red Sea.

In the reign of Jehoram, the successor of Jehoshaphat, the Edomites revolted from under the dominion of Judah, and again made for themselves a king. Jehoram led against them his forces, and fought a severe battle with them. But he was unsuccessful, and the Edomites remained independent (2 Kings, viii, 20). A little later, B.C. 838, Amaziah, king of Judah, fought another great battle with the Edomites, and slew many thousand of them in the Valley of Salt near the Dead Sea; he took the city of Selah, afterwards called Joktheel (2 Kings, xiv, 7).

This is the first mention in history of this interesting city, which bore the name of Selah, the *Rock*, from its peculiar situation, or, as the Greeks translated it, Petra. It was situated in a small inclosed hollow, in the range of Mount Hor, on the east side of Wady Araba, the valley which runs from the Red Sea to the Dead Sea. This is surrounded by steep cliffs of porphyry and red sandstone, but watered by a brook which gave the spot its value. It is withdrawn from all the caravan routes. The roads which lead to it through the dreary mountain passes, cannot be found without the help of a guide. On one side it is entered through a frightful chasm so narrow that not more than two horsemen can ride abreast; on the other side the road which leads down into it, is too steep for a loaded camel. The wild security of this rock-inclosed city, was not easily disturbed by an invading army; for it was still further

guarded by the fierceness and poverty of its owners, and by the sandy barrenness of the country which surrounds it. Nor was such a spot often visited by travellers. No caravans passed through it, unless they turned aside either for its shelter or its water. Of all cities in the world, it was that which was least known to its neighbours.

Uzziah, or Azariah, the next king of Judah, followed up this conquest of Petra by again gaining for the trade of his nation a port on the Red Sea. Solomon's port had been at Eziongeber, on the western side of the head of the Ælanitic Gulf, a spot convenient for the Midianites and Egyptians when they were masters of that desert shore. But there may perhaps have been reasons for thinking the opposite side of the bay better suited for ships; and there Uzziah built the town of Elath, not five miles from the old port. It was afterwards called Ælana by the Romans, and is now called Akabah. But the Jews were not strong enough either to use or to hold these conquests; and in a very few years Petra was again in the hands of the native Arabs, the men of Edom (2 Kings, xiv, 22).

A few years later, B.C. 742, in the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah, in the midst of his other troubles, while the land was invaded on the north by the powerful Syrians, and on the east by the equally powerful Philistines, the Edomites overran the southern portion and carried off numerous captives. By the help of the Syrians they regained from the Jews the town of Elath on the Red Sea (2 Kings, xvi, 6, in Septuagint).

On the conquest of Judea by the Babylonians, B.C. 600, when the nation was in the very depth of its misfortunes, the Edomites again rushed in to snatch at their share of the booty. When Jerusalem was being stormed and plundered by the Chaldæan army, the Edomites cried, "Raze it, raze it, even to its foundations" (Ps. cxxxvii); and the anger of the Jews against the insults and lesser injuries caused by the Edomites, was almost equal to that which they felt against the Babylonians, the great authors of their misfortunes. It was then that the

prophet Ezekiel wrote that in punishment for the cruelty of Edom against Judah, it should at a future day be made desolate even as far as Teman, and the men of Dedan should be put to the sword (xxv), and that the cities of Mount Seir should be laid waste (xxxv). It was then that the prophet Obadiah wrote of the city of Petra, that the pride of its heart had deceived it, that, though dwelling on high in the clefts of the rock, it should be brought low.

It was at this time that the Book of Job was written, and the scene of the poem is laid at Uz, in the land of Edom (Lament. iv, 21), probably on its northern side, not far from Moab. It describes the simple pastoral mode of life of one of the Arab chiefs, whose wealth was in his camels, oxen, asses, and sheep, and whose strength was in the number of his family. The even course of his life is unbroken by any variety except the storms from heaven, or the report that a caravan from Teman or from Sheba had lost its way in the desert; unless, indeed, his servants should be so far careless in their look-out as to allow his flocks and herds to be carried off by the neighbouring Sabæans, or by the Chaldæans, who had lately settled in the lower portion of the valley of the Euphrates.

When Cyrus, king of Persia, led his conquering armies westward, and restored the Jewish captives in Babylon to their country, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple, B. C. 535, the Edomites were among the nations whom he conquered. The Jews rejoiced at hearing of their slaughter, and thought it a just punishment for former injuries. "Who," asks the prophet, "is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel?" And he adds as an answer, "I will tread them in mine anger, and trample them in my fury, and their blood shall be sprinkled upon my garments." The Edomites, with the rest of their Arab neighbours, remained subject to Persia as long as that empire lasted, but regained their independence when the Persians were overthrown by Alexander the Great.

About this time we find a new name given to the inhabitants of Edom, which it is necessary to attend to, lest we should be misled to suppose that any change had taken place in the population; they are sometimes called Nabatæans or Nebaiioth. In the Book of Genesis (xxv, 13, 15), among the Arabs of the desert, or sons of Ishmael, we find Nebaiioth mentioned together with Kedar and Tema and other tribes of that neighbourhood. It had been usual for the Edomites of Petra to send a yearly tribute of a lamb to Jerusalem, and Isaiah says, "Send ye the lamb to the ruler of the land from Selah, through the desert, unto the mount of the daughter of Zion" (xvi, 1). And in the later work, which has been by mistake given to Isaiah, the same tribute is said to be sent from the Nabatæans; thus "the rams of Nebaiioth shall minister unto thee; they shall come up with acceptance to mine altar, and I will glorify the house of my glory" (lx. 7). We see, therefore, that the Edomites of Selah or Petra are also called Nabatæans. And in yet later times we shall find the names of Arabia Nabatæa and Arabia Petræa, both given to the desert country of Edom.

At the same time we find a new meaning given to the word Edom, or, what is the same thing, we find the limits of Edom removed northward almost to Hebron, and they include even part of the hill country of Judah. Historians seldom have to speak of any but the governing class in a nation; so much so, that if from any cause these are removed, and a lower class rises into notice, the country seems peopled by a new race of men; so it was in this southern portion of Judea. When the priests and nobles were carried into captivity by the Babylonians, the peasants that remained behind readily formed one nation with the Edomites, with whom they were more closely related in blood and feeling than with their Jewish masters, and henceforth we shall find two meanings belonging to the word Edomite, or Idumean, as it is written in Greek historians; sometimes this name will belong to the Arabs of the desert about Petra; but the Greek name of Idumean more usually

belongs to the less wandering race of southern Judea, within twenty miles of Jerusalem. The wilder Edomites or Nabatæans are driven back to the south of the Dead Sea.

The successors of Alexander never held Edom. The Ptolemies were willing to befriend and uphold it as an independent State, which was usefully placed between Egypt and her rival kingdoms. Antigonus, when king of Asia Minor, was defeated in his attempt to take the city of Petra. He had heard that the Nabatæans had left Petra less guarded than usual, and had gone to a neighbouring fair, probably to meet a caravan from the south, and to receive spices in exchange for the woollen goods from Tyre. He therefore sent forward four thousand light-armed foot and six hundred horse, who overpowered the guard and seized the city. The Arabs, when they heard of what had happened, returned in the night, surrounded the place, came upon the Greeks from above, by paths known only to themselves, and overcame them with such slaughter that, out of the four thousand six hundred men, only fifty returned to Antigonus to tell the tale.

The Nabatæans then sent to Antigonus to complain of this crafty attack being made upon Petra, after they had received from him a promise of friendship. He endeavoured to put them off their guard by disowning the acts of his general; he sent them home with promises of peace, but at the same time sent forward his son Demetrius, with four thousand horse and four thousand foot, to take revenge upon them, and again seize their city. But the Arabs were this time upon their guard; the nature of the place was as unfavourable to the Greek arms and warfare, as it was favourable to the Arabs; and these eight thousand men, the flower of the army, under the brave Demetrius, were unable to force their way through the narrow pass into this remarkable city (Diod. Sic. lib. xix).

When the family of the Maccabees made the Jews again for a short time an independent nation, they renewed the old war with the Idumeans or Edomites,

but they did not attempt to enforce Jewish authority over any portion of the country, except that which had once been Judea. Judas Maccabæus in the flush of his success in the year B. C. 164, did not march further southward against them than the heights of Acrabatene, which divide the valley of the Dead Sea from the country of Edom (Josephus, *Antiq.* xii, viii, 1, and xiii, ix, 1).

At this time, also, we find another name given to the desert country which we have been calling Edom, and Nabatæa. In one of the additions to the prophecy of Balaam, which was written under the Maccabees, the inhabitants of Petra are called Kenites, a name which in earlier times (*see* Gen. xv, 19, and 1 Sam. xxvii, 10) belonged to a tribe not quite so far to the south. The writer first speaks of the conquest of Idumea, or the northern part of Edom by Judah, and says, "Edom shall be a possession, and Seir shall be a possession, and Israel shall act valiantly." He then mentions the conquest of the city of Selah or Petra, not by the Israelites, but by the Assyrians, most probably an Assyrian force in the service of Cyrus in the year B. C. 535. "And he looked on the Kenites, and took up his parable, and said, Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in Selah, *or the rock*," making a pun on the word Ken or *nest*. "Nevertheless, thy nest shall be destroyed, and the cunning of Asshur shall take thee captive" (*Numbers* xxiv, 22).

In the reign of the Emperor Trajan, Arabia Nabatæa was received within the bounds of the Roman Empire. The Romans were already masters of Egypt and Palestine; and the rocky fastness of Petra at last was obliged to receive a Roman garrison. In return for the loss of their liberties, the Nabatæans gained a great increase of trade; and the buildings with which the city of Petra was ornamented, declare the wealth which flowed into it from this source. But it may be doubtful how much of that wealth fell to the share of the Nabatæans, and how much the Romans, who held Petra, were able to keep for themselves; the temples hewn out of the rock

are all of a Roman style of architecture, ornamented with porticoes and Corinthian columns of the age of the Antonines. The theatre, which is of a semicircular form, with seats cut like steps in the rock, is capable of holding four thousand persons. A triumphal arch, springing from rock to rock, spans the narrow gorge by which the city is entered. The tombs in which the inhabitants were buried remain in the form of cells pierced into the cliffs on all sides, around the theatre, the market-place, the temples, and along the roads even for miles out of the city; but the dwelling-places of the living have long since disappeared, swept away in all probability by the waters of the little stream which in the winter season is often swollen to a torrent (Bartlett's *Forty Days in the Desert*).

This prosperity of Petra under the Romans was but a gleam of brightness before its death. The art of navigation was becoming every year better understood, and the number of articles from the east, which were light enough and costly enough to pay for land carriage through the desert on camels' backs, was becoming more limited. The trade-winds had been discovered between the mouths of the Indus and the coast of Africa; and the Alexandrian merchants regularly sailed from the Red Sea to India and Ceylon. Tyre and Sidon lost their trade by sea, and Petra its trade by land; and in the reign of the Emperor Valens, in about A. D. 370, Petra was again recovered by its native Arabs, the city had lost its importance, and its fall was hardly noticed by the historians (Socrates, *Eccl. Hist. lib. iv*; Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist. lib. vi*). This interesting city was henceforth lost to the civilised world, it was closed against all travellers, it had no place in the map till it was discovered by Burckhardt in our own days, without a human being dwelling in it, with oleanders and tamarisks choking up its entrances through the cliff, and with brambles trailing their branches over the rock-hewn temples.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF SYRIA.

THE Syrians, if we may judge from their language, were a people closely allied to the Israelites. In Hebrew, and by themselves, they were called Aramæans, and their country was called Aram. The name of Syria, by which the country is usually known, is probably a Greek corruption of the word Assyria. It was bounded on the north by Mount Taurus, and the mountains of Armenia; on the west by the Mediterranean Sea; on the south by the Israelites of Palestine; and on the east by Assyria and the Arabian Desert. But the line which divided the Syrians from the Assyrians is uncertain from our want of history; and was probably changeable from their being of nearly the same race.

Syria contained one portion of low country between two mountainous districts. These are—first, the valley of the river Orontes; secondly, to the south of that valley, the mountain ranges of Lebanon and Antilibanus, with the sources of the Orontes and of the Jordan; and thirdly, to the north of that valley, a larger mountainous country, with some of the sources of the great river Euphrates. This northern district is, in the Book of Genesis, called Chaldea, and Padan-Aram, and Aram of the Rivers, or Mesopotamia, so named from the numerous streams which unite to form the Euphrates. Here, in Syria beyond the river, was situated Ur of the Chaldees, the town from which, according to the tradition, Abraham migrated (xi, 31), and Haran or Charan, the town to which Jacob fled from Chanaan (xxvii, 43; xxviii, 5). The Syrians were at first divided into several tribes or kingdoms, and they were usually at war with the Israelites, from the very first settlement of the latter in the promised land.

The Syrians from Aram of the Rivers, or Mesopotamia, overran the western side of Palestine soon after the death of Joshua, in the time of the Judges; and

held the country in servitude for eight years. But Chushan-rishathaim, the Syrian king, was defeated by Othniel, a nephew of Caleb, who dwelt at Hebron, at the very furthest end of the land. For some years the Israelites of the south were free from these troublesome invaders. (Judges iii, 11). The northern parts of Palestine probably remained in the hands of the Syrians.

We may suppose that whenever the Israelites in their struggles were oppressed by any of their neighbours in the south or east, the Syrians in the north marched in for their share of booty. When Saul was appointed king, and had defeated the Philistines, he then had to clear even his southern portion of the country from the Syrians of Zobah, a tribe which seems to have dwelt between Mount Lebanon and the coast (1 Sam. xiv, 47). This part of Syria had lately been overrun by the Egyptians, who had marched along the Phœnician coast, in the reign of Rameses II., and had left that great king's name and titles carved on the rock near Beyroot. The Syrians from beyond the river are not often heard of in the Jewish wars.

When David was made king of Israel, the Syrians nearest to the Israelites were divided into three or four little kingdoms. The chief of these were the kingdom of Damascus, between the mountain range of Antilibanus and the Arabian desert; the kingdom of Zobah, between Mount Lebanon and the sea; and the kingdom of Hamath, which was between Lebanon and Antilibanus, the southern portion of which was called the Entering in of Hamath. Of these three Zobah was, at this time, the strongest; and Rehob, king of Zobah, in about the year B.C. 1020, was carrying on a war against Toi, king of Hamath, and claiming for himself the lower portion of the valley of the Orontes, which valley in its upper part formed the kingdom of Hamath. The king of Zobah sent an army northward, under the command of his son Hadad-Ezer, to gain that portion of territory and to make the river Euphrates the boundary of the kingdom of Zobah.

David was at this time firmly seated on the throne of Judea, and clearing his kingdom of his enemies. He therefore took advantage of these wars among the Syrians, and marched against Hadad-Ezer and routed him in battle. He took from him horses for a hundred chariots, with numerous shields of gold, and a large weight of copper, which he found in the cities of Bethah and Berothai. This last was probably the city of Beyroot on the coast; and the copper may have been brought there from the island of Cyprus, the great seat of the ancient copper-mines.

In these battles the Syrians of Damascus sent a force to the succour of their brethren of Zobah, and to fight against David; and, therefore, after the victory, David took possession of the city of Damascus, and put a Jewish garrison in it and made it part of his kingdom. Toi, king of Hamath, on the other hand, felt relieved from an enemy by David's victory over his neighbour; and he, therefore, sent his son Joram to meet David, and to congratulate him on his success, and to purchase his friendship with a gift of vessels of gold, vessels of silver, and vessels of copper (2 Sam. viii).

Soon afterwards, when the Ammonites, who dwelt on the east of Palestine, rebelled against David, they sent to Hadad-Ezer, and from him hired a body of Syrians from Beth-rehob, and Zobah, and Ishtob, and Maacah. These Syrian forces were defeated by Joab, David's general; and Hadad-Ezer brought down a second army of Syrians from that part of his dominions which was beyond the Euphrates, from the district of which Edessa was afterwards the capital. This second army marched southward to Helam, an unknown town, perhaps near Damascus. But they were defeated with great slaughter by David, who crossed the Jordan, and led his army against them in person. Hadad-Ezer, upon this, begged for peace, and then all the kings of Syria served the Israelites (2 Sam. x).

The name of king Hadad-Ezer, we may remark, like those of many of the kings of Nineveh, contains the word Assur, and helps to prove that Syrians and Assy-

rians were of the same race, and only different tribes of the same nation. The site of Zobah, his capital city, is unknown. It may have been near the modern city of Antioch, but can hardly have been between Hamath and the Euphrates, which was a district at that time struggled for by the two kings. The town of Beth-Rehob, named after the king's father, was within the boundaries of the land claimed by the tribe of Asher; Maachah was within the limits of the tribe of Naphtali; and that portion of the Promised Land which was afterwards held by these two tribes, had not then been gained from the Syrians. When the first of these portions of territory was embraced within the limits of the kingdom of Judah, it received the name of Asher from its Assyrian population; and hence in the genealogy of the nations, one of Jacob's sons, the child of a handmaid, was named Asher.

Another little kingdom at the southern part of Syria was Geshur, situated near the sources of the river Jordan. The kingdom of Geshur may have embraced the northern portion of Dan and part of the territories which belonged to the tribe of Naphtali. Hither Absalom fled from his father David. But the kingdom of Geshur was by no means independent; and the young man, when David sent to recall him, had no choice but to return (2 Sam. xiii, xiv).

After David's death Solomon's power was also obeyed throughout all the southern parts of Syria proper; and he, moreover, held the city of Tiphseh, on the Euphrates (1 Kings iv, 24), and Tadmor in the eastern desert, better known as Palmyra (1 Kings ix, 18).

Before the end of Solomon's reign, however, [B.C. 980(?)] his power became weaker, and the Syrians revolted; and Damascus made itself independent not only of him, but of the kingdom of Zobah, of which it had formed part. Rezon, who had been in the service of the king of Zobah, now made himself king of Damascus (1 Kings xi, 23). From that time forward Zobah was no longer the chief kingdom in southern Syria; Damascus was henceforth the more powerful,

and when Israel and Judah weakened themselves by their quarrels, the Syrians of Damascus were counted by both as allies. Tabrimon, king of Damascus [B.C. 955 (?)], the son of Hezion or Rezon, the last king, formed an alliance with Abijam, king of Judah, Solomon's grandson (1 Kings xv, 18).

In the reign of Benhadad, the son of Tabrimon [B.C. 940 (?)], when Asa, the next king of Judah, felt himself pressed by Israel, he sent his treasure to Damascus to purchase an inroad of the Syrians against his enemies. Benhadad accordingly sent an army of Syrians southward. His troops entered the kingdom of Israel near Dan, and took the towns of Dan, Ijon, and Abel-bethmaachah, and overran the land of Naphtali as far as the lake of Genesareth (1 Kings xv, 20).

Benhadad reigned for many years and with great prosperity. He had thirty-two little kings in his army, with a body of cavalry and a body of chariots. Ahab, king of Israel [B.C. 918 (?)] was forced to acknowledge him as his master and to beg for mercy from him (1 Kings xx, 4). But Benhadad grew insolent and careless with his success; and when he was besieging the city of Samaria, the Israelites, in their despair, made a sally and routed the Syrians. He himself escaped with his cavalry, but the rest of his army was destroyed (1 Kings xx, 21).

The next year after this invasion Benhadad again led his forces against Samaria in search of plunder, and he marched as far southwards as Aphek, about ten miles to the north of that capital. There, however, he was again routed by the Israelites, and had, in his turn, to beg for his life. After making a treaty with Ahab, he returned home to Damascus (1 Kings xx, 34).

In the third year Benhadad again marched southward, but this time on the east side of the Jordan. There he was met by the joint forces of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and Ahab, king of Israel. They joined battle near the town of Ramoth-Gilead, and the king of Israel was slain (1 Kings xxii).

Twenty years afterwards the Syrians of Damascus

again attacked the Israelites of Samaria, in the reign of Jehoram, the son of Ahab [B.C. 895(?)].

Benhadad was still on the throne of Damascus, or a second of the name had succeeded the former. The besieged town was sorely pressed by famine. But the Syrian army, upon hearing an unusual noise, as it seemed of chariots and horsemen who had been sent to help the town, raised the siege and fled in the night (2 Kings vi, vii). It was after one of these invasions in which the Syrians were defeated by Jehoshaphat, at the foot of Mount Bashan, that the 68th Psalm was written. Benhadad was shortly afterwards put to death by Hazael, who then reigned in his stead (2 Kings viii, 15).

The further inroads of the Syrians on the kingdom of Israel were for a few years checked by the alliance formed between the kings of Israel and Judah. The Syrian army, led by king Hazael, fought a battle with the two kings near Ramoth-Gilead (2 Kings viii, 29), and the king of Israel fortified himself in that city to oppose further invasion (ix, 14). But when Israel was torn to pieces by the successful rebellion of Jehu [B.C. 884(?)], Hazael conquered the whole of the country to the east of the river Jordan, not only Gilead and Gad, but even the land of Reuben down to the river Arnon (2 Kings x, 33).

The kingdom of Israel was now ruined, and could offer no resistance in the open country to the Syrians. Hazael led his forces even through Samaria, and attacked the more distant kingdom of Judah. He besieged and took Gath, a city as far southward as Jerusalem [B.C. 877(?)]. He then turned against Jerusalem itself; and only withdrew from the capital when bought off by Joash, king of Judah, who sent him the whole of the royal treasure and of the sacred treasure, to purchase his retreat (2 Kings xii, 17, 18).

The kingdom of Damascus was now at its greatest size. We hear at this time of no second independent Syrian kingdom. Israel and Judah were both tributary to king Hazael. But the prosperity of Damascus

ended on his death. Benhadad, his son, succeeded him, and was defeated in three great battles by Joash, king of Israel [B.C. 840 (?)], who recovered from the Syrians all the cities that his predecessors had lost, and regained the old limits of the kingdom of Israel (2 Kings xiii, 25). Twenty years afterwards the city of Damascus was itself conquered by the Israelites [B.C. 820 (?)], and Jeroboam II even made Israel master of all southern Syria, as in the days of Solomon (2 Kings xiv, 28).

About this time a new nation rises into notice whose size and power wholly change the politics of the little states between the Orontes and the Jordan. The Assyrians of Nineveh, after having been conquered by the Medes, had thrown off the foreign yoke and made themselves independent and powerful under a king of the name of Pul; and they soon took part in the wars between the Syrians and the Israelites.

Menahem, king of Israel, ambitious of conquering every Syrian town that had before obeyed Solomon, attacked and took the city of Tiphseh on the Euphrates. This brought upon him the enmity of the Assyrians, who were no doubt masters of all Syria beyond the river, and may have before taken that city, or may have looked upon it as their lawful prey. The Israelites could not resist the Assyrians, and the king of Israel then had to pay tribute, not to the king of Syria, but to the king of Assyria, for the quiet possession of his own kingdom (2 Kings xv, 19).

Rezin, the next king of Damascus, instead of attempting like his father to plunder the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, made an alliance with the former that they might jointly plunder the more distant [B.C. 740 (?)] He marched through the whole length of the unhappy land of Judah in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, and even assisted the Edomites on the Red Sea to regain the port of Elath (2 Kings xvii, 6, in Septuagint). But the king of Damascus was no longer the most powerful plunderer in that neighbourhood. Tiglath Pileser, the successor of Pul on the throne of Nineveh,

moved by a large tribute from the king of Judah, led his Assyrian forces against Damascus; he put to death Rezin, the king of Syria; and he carried away his nobles to live in captivity on the banks of the river Kir, a river which falls into the Caspian sea at the very furthest limits of the kingdom of Assyria (2 Kings xvi, 9).

From this time forward, all Syria, including the district round Mount Lebanon and the valley of the Orontes, was subject to the king of Nineveh. There are no natural difficulties to check the free passage between the valleys of the Tigris, of the Euphrates, and of the Orontes. From Nineveh on the Tigris, the route is across a low range of hills, and a plain, scarcely a desert, to the river Chaboras, and then by the banks of that little stream to the town of Carchemish on the Euphrates. From Nineveh to Carchemish is about 160 miles. From Carchemish the route is along the bank of the Euphrates up the river for about 100 miles, to the ford near the town of Tiphseh. Here the route crosses the river, and about thirty miles higher up leaves the valley of the Euphrates and crosses over to the valley of the Orontes near Hamath, having the northern edge of the great desert of Arabia on the left hand. From the Euphrates to Hamath on the Orontes, is about 110 miles, and from Hamath to Damascus is about 100 more. By this route of about 500 miles, armies marched from Nineveh to Damascus; and thenceforth all Syria became a part of the great kingdom of Assyria. As the latter portion of this very important route was southward, the Hebrew writers all speak of the armies of Nineveh as coming down upon them from the north.

At Damascus, Ahaz, king of Judah, did homage to his new master Tiglath-Pileser, king of Nineveh (2 Kings, xvi, 10).

The Chaldees, or Syrians of Mesopotamia, had probably been subject to Assyria for a long time before this conquest of Damascus by that power. It was from Chaldea, as we have seen, that the Hebrew nation traced

its origin. The family of Abraham migrated from that country; but now a larger and a warlike migration of the same people, joined, perhaps, by others from the mountains of Kurdistan, took place southwards down the river Euphrates; and they conquered Babylon. In the year B. C. 625, their leader Nabopolassar, was king of that city, and two years later, he marched northwards and conquered Nineveh. But this probably made little change in the affairs of Syria. The Syrians and Assyrians spoke very nearly the same language and were of kindred races; and Syria was, as before, subject to Nineveh.

When the Persians under Cyrus the Great conquered Assyria in the year B. C. 535, Syria shared the same fate and became a province of Persia.

Tradition tells us that the city of Balbec, situated between the two ranges of Mount Lebanon near the sources of the Jordan, was ornamented with a temple to the sun, by a king of Assyria who held Syria and was willing to copy the Egyptian customs in religion. In the Egyptian city of Heliopolis, he found a god so like his own, that he copied his statue for his own temple of the sun in Syria (Macrobius, Lib. i. 23). The Syrian city received an Egyptian name, Balbec, *the City of Baal*, from Baki the Egyptian for *city*, and was by the Greeks afterwards called Heliopolis, when the latter temple was there built. The builder of this earlier temple must have been one of the Persian kings, a successor of Cyrus.

When Persia was conquered by Alexander of Macedon, Syria became a Greek province. On this last conquest, however, the fate of Syria was wholly changed. After the death of Alexander and the division of his wide conquests among his generals, Babylon fell to the lot of Antiochus, and Syria formed part of the new Greek kingdom of Babylonia. Among the subjects of Antiochus were a large number of Greek settlers, who formed the strength of his army and the support of his throne. These Greeks were more numerous

on the coast of the Mediterranean than at Nineveh or at Babylon. Hence the valley of the Orontes became the most important part of his kingdom. There his son Seleucus built a new capital, which he named Antioch after his father, and a second city on the coast, which he named Seleucia, after himself. The half Greek city of Antioch on the Orontes then became the capital of the united kingdom of Syria, Assyria, and Babylon, while the Syrian towns of Balbec to the south, and Edessa to the north, became also Greek cities. But the successors of Seleucus held a very uncertain throne. They were sometimes masters of Palestine and part of Asia Minor; but at other times, part of Syria itself was held by the kings of Egypt. In the year B.C. 83, Syria was conquered by Tigranes, king of Armenia, and in the year B.C. 66, it was seized by the Romans, who continued to hold it till it formed part of the great Roman Empire.

On the rise of Christianity, when the Apostles were forced to leave Jerusalem, Antioch with its mixed population became the head-quarters of those who addressed themselves as religious teachers to the Greeks (Acts xi, 26; xiii, 1). There the Gospels and Epistles were read in the Greek language rather than in Syriac; while it is to the Christians of the town of Edessa, in Aram of the rivers, on the further side of the Euphrates, that we probably owe the Syriac translation of the Old and New Testaments.

A SKETCH OF ASSYRIAN HISTORY.

THE Assyrian records have saved for us the names of thirty-six kings who reigned in Nineveh, on the banks of the Tigris, before what we must now consider the beginning of Assyrian history. The last of these was Sardanapalus, whose true name was, perhaps, Asser-Hadan-Pul, syllables which we shall find used in the

names of many of the later kings. His throne was overturned by an invasion of the Medes, a people who dwelt on the shores of the Caspian Sea, and who were separated from the kingdom of Nineveh by the mountains of Kurdistan. Arbaces, king of the Medes, led his army across these mountains, and made himself king of Assyria in about B.C. 804.

After the death of Arbaces the Mede, the Assyrians were able to make themselves again independent. The first of the new line of kings was Pul. In his reign, Menahem, king of Israel, was unwise enough to provoke a war with these neighbours. Tempted by the disturbed state of Assyria, in the year B. C. 773, he led his army 300 miles northward, either conquering or passing by the kingdom of Syria; and then about 100 miles eastward to Tiphseh or Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, one of the nearest cities on that side of Assyria. He was able to conquer the place, and he put the inhabitants to death with great cruelty (2 Kings xv, 16). But this was an unfortunate victory for the Israelites. In the next year Pul marched in his turn into Samaria. The frightened Israelites could make no sufficient resistance, and they purchased a peace at the price of 1000 talents of silver. With this booty Pul returned home. He reigned twenty-one years.

[B.C. 753.] Tiglath Pileser, or Tiglath Pul Asser, the next king of Assyria, also found an excuse for invading Samaria. In the civil war between Israel and Judah, when the Israelites called to their help the king of Syria, whose capital was Damascus, Ahaz, king of Judah, sent a large sum of money to purchase the help of the Assyrians from Nineveh. Tiglath accordingly led the Assyrian army against Syria; he overran that country, and conquered Damascus, and slew Resin the king. He invaded the country of the Israelites, and so entirely routed them, that he took from them the larger part of the kingdom. He then added to the Assyrian Empire, not only Syria, but Gilead on the east of the river Jordan, and Galilee to the north. He left to

the Israelites only the province of Samaria. He carried his prisoners to the furthest end of his own kingdom, and placed them on the banks of the river Kir, which flows into the Caspian Sea in latitude 39° . Ahaz, king of Judah, went in person to Damascus to pay his homage to the Assyrian conqueror and thank him for his help (2 Kings xv, 29, xvi).

His kingdom had been invaded on the north by the Assyrians, on the east by the Philistines, and the Edomites on the south overran the southern portion and carried off numerous captives, and Ahaz in his despair took the unwise step of calling in the Assyrians to help him. Then, probably, was written the prophecy of Joel, who says, that what the first flight of locusts had left, the latter, namely the Assyrians, had eaten; and also the eighty-third Psalm, in which the poet declares that among the enemies who had made a league for the destruction of his nation, were the Edomites and Moabites, and Philistines, and Tyrians; and that the Assyrians also had come to help those descendants of Lot.

By this time we are able to mark the limits of the great Assyrian Empire. Nineveh, the capital, was situated on the east bank of the Tigris, a little above the point where the Greater Zab falls into that river. Near it were the cities of Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen (Genesis x, 11, 12). These cities together formed the capital of the upper part of the valley watered by the Tigris and Euphrates. The sites of these ancient towns may be identified with the ruined walls and palaces of the neighbourhood, without much doubt. The modern Nimrod at the junction of the greater Zab and the Tigris, is the Nineveh of Strabo, and no doubt the Nineveh of the Bible. Calah, or Halah, *the castle*, was likely to be on the hills, and hence may be the modern Khorsabad. Resen, which was between these two cities, and larger than either of them, is therefore marked by the great ruins of Kouyunjik; while Rehoboth, the least important of the four, may be the town of Mosul, the Mespila

of Xenophon. At this time the king of Nineveh held also, first, the mountains of Kurdistan, the country of the hardy Kurds, and, secondly, the country between Kurdistan and the Caucasus, being the valley of the rivers Kir and Araxes, which rise in the mountains of Armenia, and flow into the Caspian Sea. Tiglath was also master of the kingdom of Media, between Kurdistan and the southern end of the Caspian Sea, of the kingdom of Syria, which contained the sources of the Euphrates and the valley of the Orontes, and of the northern part of Palestine.

[B.C. 734.] Shalmaneser, the next king of Assyria, is also called Shalman by the prophet Hosea. In the ninth year of his reign (B. C. 725) he led an army against the little kingdom of Israel, which was now reduced within the limits of Samaria. At the end of three years (B.C. 722) he wholly conquered this unfortunate people, and carried away into captivity the chief men of the ten tribes. He placed a number of Assyrians and Babylonians in the cities of Samaria, and placed the Samaritan captives at Halah near Nineveh, at Habor on the river Gozan, and in some of the cities of the Medes (2 Kings xviii, 11). He also conquered Sidon and Acre and the island of Cyprus; Tyre alone held out against a siege (Meander, in Josephus). Shalmaneser reigned fourteen years, and died before this removal of the Israelites into captivity was completed. The prisoners were sent home, says the prophet Hosea (x, 6), as a present to his successor.

[B.C. 720.] Sennacherib, called Jareb by Hosea, succeeded Shalmaneser. He followed up the successes of the last two kings. He completed the carrying away of the Israelites, and then invaded Judea, in the fourteenth year of the reign of king Hezekiah (B. C. 714). He marched without interruption through Galilee and Samaria, which were now provinces of Assyria. His troops entered the country of Benjamin at Aiath and Migron. He laid up his carriages at Michmash as he came upon the hill country around Jerusalem. The

people fled at his approach, and all resistance seemed hopeless. While Sennacherib was near Lachish, besieging that city in person, Hezekiah sent messengers to beg for peace and to make terms of submission. The haughty conqueror demanded 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold, a sum so large that Hezekiah had to take the treasures from the temple to enable him to pay it (2 Kings xviii, 14; 2 Chron. xxxii).

In the meantime Sennacherib sent forward part of his army southward, under the command of Tartan, against the cities of the coast. In passing by Jerusalem, Tartan endeavoured to persuade the people to open their gates, and assured them that it was in vain to look for help from Egypt. But he made no attempt to storm the place; he moved forward and laid siege to Azotus in due form, and soon made himself master of that city. (2 Kings xviii. 17, Isaiah xx, 1).

When Sennacherib had made terms with Hezekiah, he led his army against Egypt, provoked by the news that Tirhakah, the Ethiopian sovereign of that country, was marching to the relief of the Jews. He passed through the desert, along the coast, and arrived at Pelusium, the frontier town on the most easterly branch of the Nile. Here he was met by an Egyptian army, under the command of Sethos, a priest of Memphis. But before any battle took place some unknown cause had scattered and routed the Assyrians; and while the Jews gave glory and thanks to Jehovah for their deliverance, the Egyptians set up a statue in the temple of their god Pthah in Memphis (2 Kings xix, 35; Herodotus, ii, 141).

Sennacherib himself escaped alive and returned home to Nineveh. But he was probably at the end of his reign less powerful than at the beginning; and Bero-dach-baladan, who was then reigning at Babylon, may have felt himself too strong to be treated as the vassal of Nineveh. Berodach made a treaty with Hezekiah, king of Judah (2 Kings xx, 12), which could hardly have been agreeable to Sennacherib. The latter years

of Sennacherib's reign were probably employed in wars with Babylon against Berodach and his successors; till, when old, as he was worshipping in the temple of the Assyrian god Nisroch, he was murdered by two of his sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer. But they gained nothing by their crime. They had to flee from punishment, and they escaped over the northern frontier into Armenia, a mountainous country that had been able to hold itself independent of Assyria. Esarhaddon, his third son, then gained the throne of Nineveh (2 Kings xix, 37). Sennacherib had reigned for, perhaps, thirty-seven years over Assyria, Media, Syria, Cyprus, Galilee, and Samaria, and probably held Babylon as a dependent province, governed by a tributary monarch.

[B.C. 683.] The date of Esharhaddon's gaining the throne of Nineveh is uncertain, but the time that he became king of Babylon is better known; for in the year B.C. 680, he put an end to a line of kings who had reigned there for sixty-seven years (Ptolemy's Canon, and that of Syncellus, in Cory's Fragments). Towards the end of his reign he had occasion to punish some act of disobedience on the part of Manasseh, king of Judah. He sent an army against him, and carried him prisoner to Babylon; but after a short time he released him, and again seated him on the throne of Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxiii, 11). Esarhaddon reigned, perhaps, sixteen years.

[B.C. 667.] Sardochæus, the next king, reigned over Nineveh, Babylon, Media, and Israel for twenty years.

[B.C. 647.] Chyniladan reigned twenty-two years; but, during this latter reign, Assyria was weakened by the loss of Babylon, which then fell into the hands of the Chaldees, and of Media, which became independent under Phraortes.

These Chaldees, first mentioned in the Bible, were a tribe of Syrians at the sources of the river Euphrates, who held the country called Aram of the Rivers, or Mesopotamia. Their earliest known seats were Ur and Charran, from which towns the race of Israelites traced their

origin; and from thence Abraham was supposed to have migrated. Another tribe of Chaldees dwelt at the sources of the Tigris. These were the Kurds, a hardy race who inhabit the mountains of Kurdistan, between Nineveh and Media; and these latter are thought, with some probability, to be the people who, under the name of Chaldees, now made themselves masters of Babylon. In the year B.C. 625, their leader, Nabopolassar, was king of that city, and of the lower half of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Two years later, he marched northward against Nineveh. The prophet Nahum describes his storming and sacking that famous capital. Nineveh fell before the rising wealth of Babylon, a city 300 miles nearer the sea, as Egyptian Thebes had already sunk under the cities of the Delta (C. Ptolemy, in Cory's Fragments).

In this falling state of the country, while Media was independent, and civil war was raging between Nineveh and Babylon, Assyria was further weakened by an inroad of the Scythians. These roving Tartars, passing the Caspian Sea, whether on the west side or east side is doubtful, first came upon the Medes, and wholly routed the army which Cyaxares, the king, sent against them. They then crossed Mesopotamia, laying waste the country as they passed. They met with no resistance in Judea; but their numbers lessened under the hardships of their march. Psammetichus, king of Egypt, was able to turn them aside from entering that country; and those that remained perished, as they marched northward, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean (Herodotus, i, 103).

On the conquest of Nineveh by Nabopolassar, the city was by no means destroyed. It probably shared with the rising Babylon, the favour of the sovereign, who is still sometimes styled the king of Assyria (2 Kings xxiii, 29). It was probably then that the Book of Jonah was written. The Jews had expected that Nineveh, the great enemy of their nation, would have been wholly and for ever destroyed; but Assyria is no

longer unfriendly to them, and the purport of the Book of Jonah is to explain the justice of God's government in sparing that great city, which had repented of its enmity, and should now find favour in their sight. Josiah, king of Judah, finds a friend and protector in Nabopolassar, king of Assyria.

Modern research has not yet helped us to understand the ancient authors in their description of Nineveh. Its walls surrounded a large space of cultivated land, and probably embraced what we may call several towns within their circuit. Diodorus Siculus (ii, 3,) says that it was 480 stadia, or forty-eight English miles round. The Book of Jonah tells us that it was a great city of three days' journey, by which the writer seems to mean that it was a journey of three days to pass through the city; but he adds rather more exactly, that it held within its walls cattle for its maintenance, and a population of more than 120,000 persons, who, in their heathen ignorance, he said, did not know their right hand from their left. Its palaces were, no doubt, chiefly built in the reigns of Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon; but it is not impossible that it may have been further ornamented with buildings and sculptures by Nabopolassar. The walls were covered with the wedge-shaped writing, in which every character, whether it is a letter or a syllable, is formed of several straight lines, each headed like a nail.

These civil wars between Nineveh and Babylon may have given encouragement to Necho, king of Egypt, to push his arms eastward, and to claim authority over Samaria and Judea. But Josiah, king of Judah, was true to the Babylonians. When Necho landed on the coast, and marched northwards as far as Carchemish on the Euphrates, Josiah led an army against him. But the Egyptians were victorious; Josiah was slain at Megiddo; and Jerusalem, and the whole of Palestine, was in the power of the Egyptians, who set up a new king over Judah (2 Kings xxiii, 29, 2 Chron. xxxv, 20, xxxvi, 5).

Nabopolassar was now old, and his son Nebuchadnezzar commanded for him as general, and carried on the war against the Egyptians on the debateable ground of Palestine. After some years the Egyptians were wholly defeated by the Babylonian army under Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxiv, 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6; Berosus in Josephus). By these battles the Babylonians regained their power over Jerusalem, and drove the Egyptians out of the country.

In B. C. 605, Nebuchadnezzar succeeded to his father, and governed that large kingdom in his own name, which he had hitherto been enlarging as a general: He carried captive to Babylon the Jewish nobles; and Judea remained a province of that great monarchy. The seat of his government was at Babylon, a city which soon became as large as Nineveh, which it had overthrown. Jerusalem twice rebelled against him, but he easily reduced it to obedience; although on the second rebellion, Hophra, king of Egypt, came up to help the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar defeated the Egyptians and took away from them every possession that they had held in Palestine, Arabia, and the island of Cyprus. He died in the forty-third year of his reign (Berosus in Josephus; 2 Kings xxv, 8).

[B. C. 562.] After the death of Nebuchadnezzar, four other kings of less note reigned over Babylon, and held Nineveh. But the Median power was now rising. The Medes were in close alliance with the Persians; and the young Cyrus, at the head of the united armies, routed the Babylonians in several battles, and at last conquered Babylon and put an end to the monarchy. After a few years Cyrus united the kingdoms of Media and Persia, by right of inheritance; and he thus (B. C. 535) added to the land of his birth the whole of the possessions which had been held by Sennacherib, and more than those of Nebuchadnezzar.

Notwithstanding its conquest by Persia, Babylon continued a large city, being still the capital of the plain watered by the Tigris and Euphrates. Though

no longer the seat of government, it was still the seat of trade, and of great importance when visited by Alexander on his overthrow of the Persian monarchy in the year B.C. 324. Alexander died there; and on the division of his wide conquests among his generals, Babylon in a few years became the kingdom of Seleucus and his successors. This city of Nebuchadnezzar was now to fall yet lower. It was governed by Greeks; and Seleucus found Syria the most suitable province in his empire for the capital. Accordingly he built Antioch, on the Orontes, for the seat of his government, and Seleucia, on the Mediterranean, as the port of that new city; and Babylon never rose again to be a place of importance.

The chronology of the times that we have been describing, from Pul, king of Assyria, to Cyrus, king of Persia, will be better understood by the help of the following Table. By the side are written the years before our era; at the top are the names of the countries; and from the whole we are enabled to see at a glance the width of kingdom under each sovereign. When the wedge-shaped characters shall have been more certainly read by the able decipherers now engaged on them, we shall no longer be required, or at liberty, to guess by what kings the palaces of Nineveh were built and ornamented. But, in the meantime, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was during those years when the nation's energy was shown in its width of empire, that it was also engaged on its largest, most costly, and most lasting buildings. Success in arms is usually followed by success in arts; and the size of the palace bears some proportion to the size of the kingdom.

B.C.	PERSIA,	MEDIA,	BABYLON,	NINEVEH,	ISRAEL,	JUDAH,	CYPRUS,	B.C.
800		Arbaces.		Acrapazus. Sardanapalus. <i>MEDIA.</i> Pul. Tiglath-Pileser. Shalmaneser. Sennacherib.	Joash. Jeroboam II. Zachariah. Menahem. Pekahiah. Pekah. Hosea.	Amaziah. Uzziah. Jotham. Ahaz. Hezekiah.		800
700		Dejoces. <i>NINEVEH.</i>	Nabonassar. Nadius. Mardoch-Empadus. Arkiannus. Belibus. Rigebelus. <i>NINEVEH.</i>	Esarhaddon. Sardochaus. Chyniladan.	Manasseh.		<i>NINEVEH.</i>	700
500		Phraortes. Cyaxeres I. Astyages. Cyaxeres II. <i>PERSIA.</i>	Nabopolassar. Nebuchadnessar. Evil-Merodach. Nabonned. <i>PERSIA.</i>	<i>BABYLON.</i>	Amon. Josiah. Jehoahaz. Jehoachim. Zedechiah. <i>BABYLON.</i>		..... <i>BABYLON.</i>	600
500	Cyrus. Cambyses. Darius. Xerxes.			<i>PERSIA.</i>	..... <i>PERSIA.</i>	..... <i>PERSIA.</i>	..... <i>PERSIA.</i>	500

ON THE POETRY OF THE HEBREWS.

POETS, like the professors of the other imitative arts, besides aiming at moving our feelings and raising our thoughts by the more real beauties of their works, have usually been willing to give further pleasure by adding ornaments. Some of these in poetry form its versification, such as a fixed length of line, or syllables marked out by length and accent, or rhyme at the end of the line, or alliteration in the middle; by all of which, strength is added to the pauses and the memory is helped. Another ornament is an artificial diction, or a choice of words not used in every-day life. But the employment of ornament is dangerous; many a bad poet has given us common thoughts, ornamented with versification and artificial diction in the place of poetic beauties; and perhaps the safest way to reach excellence is to look with distrust upon all ornament as a snare. From this danger Hebrew poetry was remarkably free. Its rude, simple language had no words but those of the actions and feelings of every-day life. The only mark of its versification was, for the most part, in the sense, and very little in the sound. It was made by dividing each sentence into two or more parts, so that the latter clauses either repeated in new words, or answered, or in some way balanced, the first. This is called the parallelism of the clauses in Hebrew verse. As an example, we may take Job's praise of Wisdom:—

“But where shall wisdom be found,
 And where is the place of understanding?
 Men knoweth not the price thereof;
 Neither is it found in the land of the living.
 The depth saith, It is not in me;
 And the sea saith, It is not in me.
 It cannot be gotten for gold;
 Neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof.”
 (Job xxviii, 15.)

This mode of marking the verse by the arrangement of the thoughts, is seen as well in the English trans-

lation as in the Hebrew original. It is also seen in the Greek of the New Testament, when poetry is there introduced. In the beginning of Luke's Gospel, Mary says:—

“ My soul doth magnify the Lord,
 And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.
 He shewed strength in his arm;
 He scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.
 He put down the mighty from thrones,
 And raised up the lowly.
 He filled the hungry with good things,
 And the rich he sent away empty.”

So slight was the difference between verse and prose, that it is not always easy to mark the boundary which divides them; and so natural was it for a writer or speaker to throw his thoughts into the form of verse, that it was not unusual for a Hebrew preacher to address his hearers in what we may call metrical prose, marked by somewhat the same parallelism of its clauses. Such a style of delivery was used when the thoughts were earnest and impassioned, and it was often accompanied with an intonation of the voice; and hence we find the same word used for a prophet, a poet, and a ready speaker. As an example of this, we may take part of a speech by the Saviour to the twelve disciples:—

“ The disciple is not above the teacher, nor the slave above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his teacher, and the slave as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beel-zebub, how much more his household? Therefore fear them not, for there is nothing covered which will not be uncovered, and hid which will not be known. What I tell you in the dark, speak ye in the light; and what ye hear in the ear, preach ye on the housetops.” Matt. x, 24-27.

Thus, since the Hebrew poetry received so little help from outward ornament, it was driven to rest its claims entirely on the higher and truer merits of the art; on its lofty thoughts, its depth of feeling, its bold and grand images. In these higher excellences it was not

a little helped by the nature of its subject, which is usually devotional, and expresses a more earnest trust in the Almighty than is found in the poetry of nations who cultivate a divided worship. Even when smarting under their sufferings, the Jews never thought themselves forgotten by their God, or doubted his power to help them.

“Behold (says Isaiah) the Lord’s hand is not shortened that it cannot save;

Neither is his ear hardened that it cannot hear.” (Ch. lix, 1.)

And the prophet Habakkuk beautifully says,—

“Although the fig-tree shall not blossom,
Neither shall fruit be on the vine;
Though the labour of the olive shall fail,
And the fields shall yield no meat;
Though the flock shall be cut off from the fold,
And there shall be no herd in the stalls;
Yet will I rejoice in the Lord,
I will joy in the God of my salvation.”

(Ch iii, 17, 18.)

Equally beautiful is the melancholy tone with which the prophets speak of the nation’s sufferings:—

“Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar; and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them. Wherefore should they say among the people, Where is their God?” (Joel ii, 17.)

The change from narrative to a speech, from speaking of God to addressing him, is frequently very impressive. Thus:

“God hath spoken once, yea, twice have I heard it,
That power belongeth unto God.
Likewise unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy;
For thou renderest unto every man according to his work.”

(Ps. lxii, 11, 12.)

And again:—

“O bless our God, ye people,
And make the voice of his praise to be heard.
He holdeth our souls in life,
And suffereth not our feet to stumble.
For thou, O God, hast proved us;
Thou hast tried us as silver is tried.”

(Ps. lxvi, 8, 9, 10.)

In many passages, earnestness and enthusiasm are a cause of sublimity far beyond what ornament produces; as,

“Blow ye the trumpet in Zion,
And sound an alarm in my holy mountain;
Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble;
For the day of the Lord cometh, it is nigh at hand.”
(Joel ii, 1.)

And again, when the Psalmist says,—

“If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her cunning,
If I do not remember thee,
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth,
If I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.”
(Ps. cxxxvii, 5, 6.)

The similes are usually chosen from the most familiar objects; as,

“My days are consumed like smoke;
And my bones are burned like an hearth.
I watch and am as a sparrow alone upon the house-top.”
(Ps. cii.)

The metaphors are of the boldest kind; as, when the people are happy, “the mountains skip like rams, and the little hills like lambs” (Ps. cxiv). When the nation is alarmed, “the earth trembleth, and the hills smoke” (Ps. civ, 32). When the wicked reproach, “they sharpen their tongues like a sword, and shoot their words like arrows” (Ps. lxiv, 3).

No writings furnish us with finer instances of the sublime than the Old Testament. At the head of these stands the description of the creation of light in the Book of Genesis. It strikes us with its shortness and almost bluntness. The creation follows at once upon the Creator’s word. “And God said, Let there be light; and there was light.” The first words raise our expectations, and those which follow fully satisfy them. The act is instantaneous, without mention of instruments or succession of events.

Another method of producing the sublime is by several grand images rising one over the other, so that

at every pause the mind feels satisfied, and always rests with pleasure upon the last thought as being yet more striking than any that have gone before. Such is the prophet Nahum's vision of the march of the army and storming of the city of Nineveh:—

“Woe to the city of blood!

It is full of falsehood and robbery; but the prey will not escape.
[Hark!] there is the sound of a whip, and the rattling of wheels;

There is a noise of prancing horses, and of jumbling war-chariots.

[Look!] the horseman lifteth up his bright sword and glittering spear.

There is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases.

There is no end of corpses; they stumble over the dead bodies.”
(Chap. iii, 1.)

The reader is hurried along by the hurry of the battle, and his ears and eyes are both engaged in noting the advance of the Babylonian chariots and the slaughter of the Assyrians. Here the description rises from a state of quiet to noise and to dreadful action. But yet more grand are those pictures which, on the other hand, rise from noise and action to rest and silence. Such is the history in prose of Jehovah speaking to Elijah at the Mount in Horeb, which teaches us the superiority of rest over action as a source of the sublime:—

“And a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind.

“And after the wind came an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake.

“And after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire.

“And after the fire a still small voice.

“And it was so that when Elijah heard it, he wrapped his face in his mantle and came forth out of the cave.” (1 Kings xix.)

Perhaps no other instance can be given of a writer venturing so slowly and so boldly to raise our expectations, and then completely satisfying them. And if we would explain the sources of the sublime in poetry by those in either of the kindred arts, we may compare

the creation of light to one of the huge simple pyramids of Memphis, without ornaments and without parts, before which we bow down in awe and wonder. The storming of Nineveh, and the history of Elijah, we may compare to the temples of Upper Egypt, where, after examining the massive roof, the strength of the walls and columns, and the size of the sculptured figures, we feel encouraged in our efforts to overcome difficulties, and to aim ourselves at something great.

ON THE BOOK OF JOB.

THIS is a poetical work on the justice of God. The thoughts that arise on seeing the good man suffer are thrown into a dramatic form, and the arguments for and against God's justice in the government of the world are put into the mouths of Job and his friends. The first two chapters are a prose narrative, and introduce the speeches.

In the land of Uz, in the neighbourhood of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi, 28; Lament. iv, 21), in a part of the Arabian desert to the south-east of Palestine, dwelt Job, or *the persecuted one*. He was a good man, who feared God. His wealth was counted in flocks of sheep, and camels, and oxen, and asses, and servants. He had seven sons and three daughters; and on their birthdays he offered burnt-offerings for them to God, lest they should have sinned in their hearts.

Now on a day when the sons of God, or the angels, presented themselves before Jehovah, Jehovah points out to Satan, or *the persecutor*, his servant Job as a man perfectly upright. Satan answers that he had observed him, but that his goodness was only for the sake of worldly reward. On this Jehovah puts into Satan's power all that Job has, that he may be tried; only Job himself is not to be touched. Job's troubles then begin. The neighbouring Sabæans carry off his oxen; the lightning burns his sheep; the Chaldæans drive away

his camels ; the house falls upon the children and kills them all. Job bows himself before God in humility ; “ the Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away ; blessed be the name of the Lord.”

When Satan next presents himself before Jehovah, he refuses to acknowledge that Job has been really tried ; and Jehovah then puts him wholly in Satan's power, only his life is to be spared. The unhappy man is thereupon afflicted with a most distressing leprosy from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot. His wife is no comfort to him, but reproaches him with the uselessness of his piety. Three friends come in to talk with him ; and the speeches begin.

Job curses the day in which he was born, and wishes it blotted out of the year. He wishes that he had died at his birth, and had gone where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest (iii).

Eliphaz, one of his friends, asks him if he can listen to blame. He tells him that his piety should support him ; the innocent never perish ; but they that plough iniquity and sow wickedness reap the same. He tells him to trust in God, who woundeth and healeth ; so shall he again be prosperous (iv, v).

Job answers that his sufferings are heavier than his friends are aware. He wishes for death, but says that he will speak in his distress, and complains against God (vi, vii).

Bildad, the second friend, denies that God is unjust. He says that Job's children must have sinned, and tells Job to make supplication to the Almighty (viii).

Job acknowledges that no man is just before God ; but asserts his innocence. He will not, however, answer God, as there is no umpire to judge between them. He prays for death as a relief from his sufferings (ix, x).

Zophar, the third friend, blames Job for boasting. He wishes that God would speak and reprove him. He advises him to put away his iniquity, and then he need not fear (xi).

Job, in answer, denies that good and evil are sent as

rewards and punishments. All nature contradicts it. God, for his own purposes, maketh judges foolish and overthroweth the strong; he raiseth up nations and destroyeth them. At length, urged on by the warmth of argument, Job says that he will speak, come what may; and tells his friends to listen while he pleads with God (xii, xiii, 19). He then makes his complaint against the Almighty. He begs Him to withdraw his hand, that he may not be checked by fear; he will then either answer an accusation, or plead and wait for an answer. He complains that God is crushing the driven leaf, and pursuing the parched stubble; that man is weak and of a short life; and that after death he will not live again (xiii, 20; xiv).

Eliphaz, in a second speech, reproaches Job with impiety, and with turning against God. He quotes to him the opinion which wise men had declared, perhaps in the form of a poem, that trouble and anguish always overtake the wicked (xv).

Job answers that his friends are miserable comforters. He continues his laments and his assertions of innocence (xvi, xvii).

Bildad, in his second speech, continues the argument, that none but the wicked suffer, and asserts that this is the dwelling of him that knoweth not God (xviii).

Job now complains of his friends' cruel reproaches; his kinsmen have deserted him, his servants do not know him, his wife loathes him. But he is sure that hereafter God will avenge him (xix).

Zophar, in his second speech, returns to the same argument, that the triumph of the wicked is short, and that at last the heavens reveal his iniquity and the earth rises up against him (xx).

Job denies the truth of this argument, and says the wicked often thrive and are powerful; their houses are safe and their cows calve. We must not teach God, or undertake to say whom he should reward or whom he should punish (xxi).

Eliphaz, in his third speech, becomes yet more re-

proachful, and argues that Job's iniquities must be great; he has perhaps refused water to the thirsty or bread to the hungry. He advises him to return to God and be prosperous (xxii).

Job answers that his complaints are not made in rebellion. He mentions many cases in which the wicked prosper (xxiii, xxiv).

Bildad seems convinced, and in his third speech agrees with what Job has been saying, and shortly adds that no man is just in the sight of God (xxv).

Job then reproves Bildad's want of charity and weakness of argument, and praises God's power (xxvi).

Zophar ventures on no third speech in reply.

As his friends make no answer, Job protests his sincerity and his innocence; he quotes his friends' opinion, that the wicked are always unprosperous, as altogether false. He praises Wisdom in a fine strain of poetry; silver and iron can be dug out of the mines, but where is wisdom to be found? its worth is above gold and jewels; wisdom is the fear of the Lord (xxvii, xxviii). As his friends still make no answer, he continues his reply; he describes his past prosperity (xxix), his present misfortunes (xxx), and again protests his innocence (xxxi).

Here a new person is introduced, who may be compared to the chorus of a Greek tragedy. Elihu, a young man who had listened while his elders were speaking, takes up the argument. He says the old are not always wise. He blames the reasoning of the three friends, for though young he cannot help speaking (xxxii). He then addresses Job, and quotes his words to blame them. He says God's ways are not to be understood; pain is sometimes sent as a correction (xxxiii).

He further argues that God's ways are not unjust, but that man must bow in humility (xxxiv).

He blames Job for bargaining with God (xxxv).

He shows that God is just, that Job is sinful, and that God is to be feared and his wisdom is unsearchable (xxxvi, xxxvii).

Jehovah then answers Job out of the whirlwind in a series of questions. He describes the ocean, the storm, the stars and seasons, the lion, the rock-goat, the mule, the rhinoceros, the horse and the eagle, to show that no man has knowledge enough to judge the ways of Providence (xxxviii, xxxix).

Jehovah then calls on Job to answer him (xl, 1, 2).

Job acknowledges his worthlessness, and will attempt no answer (xl, 3-5).

Jehovah again calls on Job for an answer, and points out the wonders of the creation, the river-horse, and the crocodile (xl, 6, xli).

Job acknowledges that God's ways are too wonderful for him to understand, and repents in dust and ashes (xlii, 1-6).

Lastly, Jehovah, in wrath against the three friends, orders them to sacrifice a burnt-offering for their folly, and he restores Job to double his former prosperity.

[The scenery and imagery of the poem are Arabian. They belong to the tribes dwelling on the borders of the desert, whose habits are simple and pastoral. But the religious thoughts are strictly Hebrew. Among any other people, perhaps, the inquiry would have been on the origin of evil, on matter being itself opposed to God's wishes, or on a wicked god whom the ruler of the world was not wholly able to overcome. But here there is only one First Cause; Satan is a servant of the Almighty; the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away, blessed is the name of the Lord.

The author's knowledge of geography and natural history reaches from the crocodile of the Nile to the river Jordan of Palestine (xl, 23); from deserts parched with the tropical sun, where the ostrich lays its eggs in the sand, to regions of ice and snow. Judging from the numerous arts and sciences mentioned, it would seem to have been written long after the Hebrew monarchy had risen to its prosperity. The writer mentions gold of Ophir, silver, iron, and copper, and the art of mining (xxviii, 1-2), writing, and sculptured writing on stone (xix, 23). The sapphire stone had

gained, its present name (xxviii, 6), from the island of Sapphirene in the Red Sea. Landmarks were used to divide estates (xxiv, 2). Wheat and barley were cultivated (xxxi, 40). Oil and wine were made (xxiv, 11). Fields were ploughed and harrowed (xxxix, 10). Cattle were pledged for debt (xxiv, 3). Swift couriers and ships were in use (ix, 25). Cities (xv, 28), kings, and judges (xii, 17) are mentioned; and it was the custom for an accusation to be made in writing (xxxi, 35). Mirrors were made of polished metal (xxxvii, 18). Music was produced by harps and pipes (xxx, 31), and in war by trumpets (xxxix, 24). Soldiers wore shields made with bosses (xv, 26), and when their ranks were closed, would hold them lapping over one another like the scales of a crocodile (xli, 15). When we remember that working in iron was almost unknown to the Israelites in the reign of Saul (1 Sam. xiii, 19), we can hardly suppose a book with these marks of civilisation written before the time of Solomon.

But it may be shown that it is far more modern. There are thoughts taken from Proverbs, Psalms, and Isaiah; and when the writer has made use of words and thoughts which are also met with in another book, a comparison between the two will show that the words in Job are the more modern. Thus compare the following; Isaiah xxxv, 3, "Strengthen ye the weak hands and confirm the feeble knees."

Job, iv, 3-4, "Behold, Thou hast instructed many, and Thou hast strengthened the weak hands. Thy words have upholden him that was falling, Thou hast strengthened the feeble knees."

The words "The Lord turned the captivity of Job," (xlii, 10), meaning only, that the Lord put an end to his afflictions, could not have been so used before the time of Jeremiah, in whose writings the turning away the captivity is so often spoken of.

We have the same imagery of heaven introduced in the First Book of Kings (xxii, 19), which was written at the time of the Babylonian captivity. "I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven

standing by him on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one (angel) said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so." Zechariah also, who wrote at the time of the return from captivity, speaks of Satan as an angel who accused men before Jehovah. These considerations, together with the mention of the Chaldæans, who had not settled so far south till a little before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, fix the date of this book as more modern than the year B. C. 600. It is thus more modern than the writings of Ezekiel, though that writer mentions Job as a real person deserving of the same reverence with Noah, in chap. xiv.]

ON THE BOOK OF PSALMS.

WHEN David set up the tabernacle in Jerusalem for the worship of Jehovah, he appointed a company of Levites as musicians and singers to sing psalms before the congregation (1 Chron. xv); and on the day when the service was first performed, he himself delivered a psalm of praise into the hands of Asaph, which was then sung (xvi, 7). In the same way, when Solomon had built his temple and opened it for worship, a chorus of Levites with musical instruments praised the Lord, singing, "For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever" (2 Chron. v, 13). Again, when Hezekiah restored the worship in the temple, and sacrificed a burnt-offering on the altar, the singers sang their hymns, and the musicians sounded their instruments, until

the burnt-offering was finished (xxix, 28); and after the return from captivity, when the foundation of the new temple was being laid, the courses of the priests sang by turns, "giving praise to the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever" (Ezra iii, 11). For the use of a temple-service, in which singing praises to God formed so important a part, a collection of psalms must have been needed, to which new psalms were added from time to time as they were written; and part of that collection we, no doubt, now have in the book which bears the name of David.

Of these psalms, some were meant to be sung by the chorus in alternate parts, and others were meant for a single voice. These last may, perhaps, be marked out in the title by the words, "for the chief musician." The title also often gives other information respecting the musical instrument, or the manner in which it should be sung, which is not now understood. But these titles are not thought to be ancient, nor can they be relied upon when they give the author's name. Seventy-one are given to David; one to Solomon; twelve to the sons of Korah; twelve to Asaph; one to Heman; and one to Ethan—who were all Levites singing in David's tabernacle; and one to Moses. But many of these, from their subject and style, are certainly more modern; and some even were written after the Babylonian captivity, when the temple was rebuilt by Zerubbabel.

The collection is divided into five books, at the end of Psalms xli, lxxii, lxxxix, and cvi. The end of each of the first four books is marked by the word Amen; and the second book more particularly with the words, "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended." By these divisions, therefore, we note the separate collections which were added from time to time to the original book. But the date of the collections remains uncertain, as the times in which the several psalms were written do not agree with the order in which they stand; and there are even in the first book psalms which seem to have been written after the captivity.

If we would form an opinion, therefore, of when, and by whom, and on what occasion each was written, we must be guided only by the subject. Some may have been written by David, whom tradition called the sweet psalmist of Israel (2 Sam. xxiii, 1). But that many belong to a later period of history is evident from the circumstances mentioned.

The Psalms are not simply devotional poems; their political earnestness is, for the most part, as remarkable as their religious earnestness. And this is one cause of their eloquence and beauty. They are poems written for an occasion, and each, no doubt, truly describes the feelings which gave rise to it; but they do not always describe the occasion itself. We must guess at it as well as we can. Among the events in Jewish history, those which will best help us in our attempts to give a date to the Psalms are the invasion by Sennacherib, the conquest by Nebuchadnezzar, the captivity in Babylon, and the return from captivity. These events, and one or two more, together with the style, which was gradually changing from bluntness to a more easy flow of language, are the grounds upon which they have been arranged in the following list.

But it is more than probable that many of them are older than the form which they now wear. Many were, doubtless, written for one occasion, and afterwards rewritten, and thus made in thought and language to suit a later event. And, upon the whole, it must be granted that the reasons for which any exact date is given to them are often very slender.

Psalms iv, vi, vii, viii, xii, xiii, xvi, xxx, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxviii, xli, liv, lviii, lxii, xci, mention no circumstances from which we can easily form an opinion as to when they were written. Nor does their style declare them to be modern; they may be among the oldest in the collection. Psalms xxxviii and xli contain a sketch of those thoughts which we find at greater length in the Book of Job.

Psalm iii speaks of the Lord's holy hill; ci of his city; and cx of Mount Zion. These, therefore, cannot have

been written before Jerusalem was conquered by David, and made the capital of the country.

Psalm lxxii is in honour of Solomon when made king in David's lifetime. The writer prays God to give grace to the king and to the king's son. Sheba, not Ophir, is spoken of as the country of gold. It is the earliest psalm to which we can give a date. B.C. 1016.

Psalms xviii and xxix speak of God's temple, and therefore could not have been written before Solomon built the temple; for even the heavens would not have been figuratively so called before that time.

Psalm xlv was on the occasion of Solomon's marriage to the daughter of the Egyptian king. It praises the Jewish king's beauty and majesty, and tells the queen, on leaving her father's house, that, instead of forefathers, she shall have children. It was written after the voyage to Ophir, which place is here mentioned. B.C. 990.

Psalms xv, xxiv, and xxvi, all speak of the temple as already built; and thus must belong to the reign of Solomon, or later.

Psalms lii and xcii were written after the temple was built, and before the trees were removed from it in the reign of Josiah.

Psalms lxxxix and cxiv are psalms for the service of the temple at the Passover.

Psalm lxviii praises God for the defeat of the Syrians, at the foot of Mount Bashan, by King Jehoshaphat, when the enemy's chariots were supposed to be routed by the fear of chariots from heaven (2 Kings vii). The writer hopes that Egypt and Ethiopia will soon acknowledge the Jewish power, as the king was fitting out a fleet on the Red Sea. B.C. 897.

Psalm lxxviii blames the men of Ephraim for cowardice in the battle, possibly the battle above spoken of.

Psalm lxxxiii mentions the Assyrians invading the country at the same time that it was overrun by Moabites, Edomites, Philistines, and Tyrians. It was, therefore, written about B.C. 742, in the reign of King Ahaz, whose troubles under those invasions are de-

scribed in 2 Chron. xxviii, and at the same time that the prophet Joel wrote his earnest and eloquent call to the nation.

Psalm ii speaks of an invasion by foreign enemies, perhaps the invasion by the Assyrians under Sennacherib in the reign of Hezekiah, B.C. 714.

Psalm xi is written in confidence that it is not necessary to quit Jerusalem to avoid the danger.

Psalm xlviii speaks of Jerusalem being threatened with a siege, and of the enemy's retreat.

Psalm xlvi speaks of sufferings under an invasion by the enemy.

Psalm lxxvi describes the destruction of Sennacherib's army, as related in 2 Kings xix.

Psalm xx is a psalm of thanksgiving for danger escaped. While it mentions the uselessness of chariots, it means to blame the Egyptian alliance. The thoughts are taken from Isaiah xxxi. It was written in Hezekiah's reign, before burnt-offerings were discontinued.

Psalms lxi and lxiii are by writers who had been carried into captivity in some early invasion—earlier than the great carrying off to Babylon, because the monarchy was not yet overthrown.

Psalms xxi and cxvi may both have been written on the recovery of King Hezekiah from sickness. B. C. 714.

Psalm xix was written after the publication of the Law in the reign of Josiah, after B.C. 230.

Psalm i, which has been placed as a suitable introduction to the whole collection of psalms, was also written when the Law was in everybody's hands.

Psalm l was also written after the publication of the Book of Deuteronomy, and when burnt-offerings were no longer valued.

Psalms xlii and xliiii are but one psalm, and were written when the writer was a prisoner in a foreign land, and no longer able to go to the house of God with praise. They belong to the time of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, B.C. 580.

Psalms lxxvii, lxxxvi, lxxxix, and xc were written in trouble, and, perhaps, during the Babylonian captivity.

Psalm lxxx is also by a captive, and one who belonged to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. It is one of the few that are not written by natives of Judah.

Psalms xl, and lxx, which forms part of xl, and lxxi, which is a continuation of lxx, have been thought to be the work of Jeremiah, and they agree well with the character of that persecuted prophet.

Psalm lxix is probably by a writer who, like Jeremiah, had fled into Egypt, as he compares his troubles to sinking in deep mire, or being overwhelmed by a flood. The Hebrew writers usually liken their sufferings to the want of water in the desert.

Psalm cxxxix contains a trace of the Egyptian opinions when it describes the creation, and speaks of matter yet unshaped having been curiously wrought by the Almighty in the lowest parts of the earth.

Psalms xxxi, xxxix, xliv, and cix are, in cast of thought, very like the writings of Jeremiah, and were probably written about this time.

Psalm lxxix quotes a verse from Jeremiah x, 25.

Psalms xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxi, cxii, cxix, and cxlv are alphabetical psalms, in which the first letters of every line, or verse of several lines, follow the order of the Hebrew alphabet. In this manner, the first four of the Lamentations are written; and it is probable that these seven psalms are of about the same age. Of these psalms, xxxvii refers to the latter part of Isaiah. Thus the prophet had just written, "I will not rest until the righteousness of Zion go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth" (lxii, 1). And the Psalmist says, "The Lord will bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noon-day" (verse 6). Psalm xxxvii also borrows thoughts from the Book of Proverbs. Thus verse 1 is from Prov. xxiv, 19, and verse 5 from Prov. xvi, 3.

Psalm lxxiv is a lament for the destruction of the temple, and of the synagogues throughout the land, and

belongs to the time of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion. It borrows a figure from Ezekiel, and calls the king of Egypt, when defeated in the time of Moses, a dead crocodile thrown up into the desert. B.C. 580.

Psalm cxxxvii mentions the writer's dwelling in Babylon; but as it threatens vengeance on his enemies, it seems that the captives had already a prospect of returning home.

Psalm lx also threatens punishment upon the nation's enemies upon the return home from captivity.

Psalms xiv, and liii, which is nearly in the same words, and cii, were all written with the hope of a speedy return home from captivity.

Psalm lxxv is by a writer dwelling in Jerusalem, who sees relief coming through Cyrus from the north, the route by which Palestine was entered from the east. B.C. 536. It refers to Jeremiah xxv, 15.

Psalms lxv and lxxxv were written after the return home, in B.C. 536.

Psalms lxvi and lxvii seem of the same time.

Psalms cv and cvii are thanks to God for being allowed to return.

Psalms v, xvii, xxvii, xxviii, lv, lvi, lix, lxxxii, cxl, cxli, cxlii, cxliii, and cxlvi seem all to speak of the enemies and troubles with which they were surrounded on their return home to Jerusalem. These troubles are described in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

Psalms cxx to cxxxiv form a series called Songs of Degrees or Ascents, and bear marks of having been written on the return home. Psalm cxxvii is encouragement in rebuilding the temple. The writer of Psalm cxx complains that dwelling in Jerusalem at this time, surrounded with jealousies, is like dwelling in the tents of Kedar. Psalm cxxxii is on the dedication of the temple when rebuilt in B.C. 516.

Psalm cxviii is probably that sung on the dedication of the temple as quoted in Ezra iii, 11.

Psalm lxxxiv also was written after the rebuilding.

Psalm li is a prayer for the rebuilding of the city walls after the temple had been rebuilt in B.C. 445.

Psalm cxlvii was written after the walls were rebuilt.

Psalms xxii, cxv, and cxxxv, like cxviii, distinguish between Israelites and those that fear the Lord; and thus seem of the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, or later, as the separation was then made between the Jews and the pious Gentiles.

Psalms xxxiii, lxiv, xciii, xcv, xcvi, xcix, c, ciii, civ, cxiii, cxvii, cxxxvi, cxxxviii, cxlviii, cxlix, cl, are psalms of praise, in which the style of thought seems to mark them later than the captivity. Psalm cxiii is in part copied from Hannah's song in 1 Samuel chap. ii. Most of the thoughts and words in Psalm c are to be found in Psalm xcv.

Psalms lvii, xciv, and cvi are prayers for help, written after the return from the captivity.

Psalm xxiii and lxxiii contain the earliest faint hints of any belief among the Jews of a future state after death.

Psalm lxxxviii speaks of the dead rising again, though with doubt and even denial. Here also not drought, but too much water, is the figure of speech under which the writer describes his sufferings and dangers.

Psalm xlix has many of the later opinions of the Book of Ecclesiastes.

Psalms ix, x, xlvi, lxxxvii, xcvi, and xcvi are thanks for the land being freed from the heathen, and, perhaps, belong to the time of the Maccabees. Psalm xcvi has many thoughts and expressions the same as in Psalm xcvi.

Psalm cxliv is composed by the help of Psalm xviii.

Psalm cviii is wholly composed out of lvii and lx.

In the greater part of the Psalms, however, the warm feelings of prayer or thanksgiving, always accompanied with earnest praise to Jehovah, are much more marked than the occasions for which they may have been written. And by as much as there is a doubt about the time when each was written, by so much is it more fitted for our use in worshipping the Almighty. They have been wisely taken as the models of devotional poetry by all Christendom.

ON THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON.

WE are told in the First Book of Kings, ch. iv, that "Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East country, and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men, than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol; and his fame was in all nations round about. And he spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were one thousand and five." Of these proverbs and songs, many are doubtless contained in the work which now bears the name of the Hebrew monarch, though some portions of the Book are additions by other writers. It is divided into six parts.

Part I. (chap. i-ix) contains a series of rules for knowing wisdom and instruction, addressed by a teacher to his pupil. The burden of this part is "Wisdom is the chief thing, get wisdom; and with all thy possessions get understanding" (iv, 7); and "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" (ix, 10). This is a preface to what follows, and it is perhaps of a later age.

Part II (chap. x-xxiv, 22) begins with a new title, "The Proverbs of Solomon," and is no doubt the original work, to which the other parts have been added, one as a preface and four as sequels. It contains three hundred and seventy-five proverbs or maxims, each containing two lines, one of which is antithetic to the other (xxii, 16). These are followed by a few longer sentences of various length, which are probably part of the one thousand and five songs spoken of in the Book of Kings.

Part III (chap. xxiv, 23-34) contains the first addition to Solomon's work. It has its own title, "These also are the sayings of wise men."

Part IV (chap. xxv-xxix) is another addition to the original work, and it has its own title; "These also are proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out." But these proverbs are more obscure and far less simple than the maxims in Part II,

which more particularly bear Solomon's name. As these were not collected till two hundred and fifty years after Solomon's death, they can hardly have been written by him.

Part V (chap. xxx) is another addition with its own title, "The words of Agur the son of Jakeh, the wise sayings which the man spake unto Ithiel, even unto Ithiel and Ucal." Here the teacher and his two pupils are alike unknown, and throw no light on the time when these sayings were written.

Part VI (chap. xxxi) is the last addition to Solomon's proverbs. It contains "The words of King Lemuel, the wise sayings that his mother taught him." This part ends with an acrostic, or alphabetical poem, in praise of a virtuous wife. Its age and author are alike unknown.

The proverbs in these books contain the wisdom and experience of many minds, thrown into short pointed rhythmical sentences, as the form in which advice can be best understood and best remembered. They lay open to us the opinions and character of the nation. They teach the wisdom and power of God, and that it is our duty to fear, and worship, and trust Him; that wickedness leads to misery, and goodness to happiness. They praise wisdom, and the several virtues of industry, temperance, chastity, meekness, friendship, truth, and justice. But not a few are in favour of a rather worldly prudence, and they particularly dissuade from becoming surety, from quarrelling, from neglect of advice, and from an unbridled tongue.

ON THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

THIS is a philosophical treatise on the purpose of life, on the ends which are worth our pursuit; and the writer sums up his experience with the painful and unhappy conclusion, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." He looks abroad through nature for variety. He sees that the sun ariseth only to go down, and hasten to the

place where it arose. He sees that the rivers run into the sea without filling it, for unto the place from whence they came thither they return again. He finds nothing new under the sun (chap. i, 9). He applies his mind to gain learning, and says, "I have gotten more wisdom than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem." But he perceives that this also is vexation of spirit; "For in much wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow" (i, 18).

He then rushes into pleasure, indulges in wine, builds houses, plants gardens and orchards, makes pools to water them, buys slaves, gathers together silver and gold; but finds it all vanity (ii, 11). He sees, however, the superiority of wisdom over such folly. But when he observes that what happeneth to the fool, the same happeneth to the wise man, they both die together; he then hates life and all the labour which he had taken under the sun (ii, 18). He thereupon concludes, that there is nothing better for a man than to eat and drink and make his soul enjoy the fruit of his labour (ii, 26).

He observes, however, that there is a time for everything under heaven; a time to be born and a time to die; a time to weep and a time to laugh; a time to love and a time to hate; and thereupon feels sure that sooner or later God will judge the righteous and the wicked; as there is a time for every purpose and for every work (iii, 17). When he sees the oppressions done by the rich, and the tears of the oppressed, he thinks that the dead are more to be envied than the living; and better is an handful with quietness, than both the hands full with travail and vexation of spirit (iv, 6).

He adds a number of wise proverbs; such as, Be more ready to hear than to speak; When thou makest a vow unto God, delay not to pay it; He that loveth silver will not be satisfied with silver; The sleep of a labouring man is sweet (v); It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting, for by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better; Better is the end of a thing than the beginning thereof (vii).

His doubts are relieved by seeing that sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily; and he adds, "Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it will be well with them that fear God, and it will not be well with the wicked" (viii).

He knows of no reward or punishment beyond the grave; one event happeneth unto all men; and a living dog is better than a dead lion; for the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward (ix, 6). He accordingly wavers backwards and forwards, not so much, however, in respect of how it is wise to live, as in respect to the motives for wise conduct and the consequences of it. He first advises, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave whither thou goest." But he can give little reason for this advice, when he observes, that "the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but time and chance happeneth to them all" (ix, 11). Even wisdom seems of little value when the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard (ix, 16). Nevertheless, actions are followed by their natural consequences, and "Whoso breaketh a hedge, a serpent will bite him;" "Whoso removeth a boundary-stone, will be hurt therewith;" "He that cleaveth a wooden fence, will be endangered thereby."

Upon this painful view of life, which affords very little foundation either for a true philosophy or a wise rule of conduct, does our author build. Though his own observation has been so discouraging, yet, true to the religion of his nation, he advises a firm trust in the Almighty: "Cast thy seed upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days;" "He that watcheth the wind will never sow; he that looketh to the clouds will never reap" (xi, 4); "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth;" for shortly "the dust will return to earth as it was, and the spirit unto God who gave it." However, "Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher; all is vanity;" "The words of the wise are a goad;" "Of

making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness to the flesh." "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man" (xii).

[The unknown writer of this book puts his remarks on the vanity of all earthly happiness, of riches, of pleasures, and of wisdom, into the mouth of Solomon, since nobody could be supposed better fitted to pronounce such an opinion than that most prosperous of monarchs. But the writer by no means wishes us to believe that he was the king of Israel, and he always speaks of himself and his observations as long past (i, 12; ii, 9-12).

This book must be classed among the most modern in the Old Testament. It would seem to have been written some time after the return from the Babylonian captivity, and after the division had arisen between the sect of Sadducees and the sect of Pharisees; as the belief in a future state is denied in a manner which shows that disputes about that opinion had already begun. It was written after books were already common, and when authors had taken up the custom of publishing their writings under the name of distinguished men, as in the case of the Book of Daniel, the Book of Enoch, and the Wisdom of Solomon. It is the only work that we possess which teaches the opinions of the Sadducees; the only Hebrew writing in which God's watchful care of us is so far forgotten as that Chance should be allowed to have any power over our lives.]

ON SOLOMON'S SONG.

THIS is a pastoral poem in honour of Solomon's marriage with one of his many wives. It is a regular drama with several speakers, though it is not necessary to suppose them more than four in number. They are

the bride, the bridegroom, the chorus of women attendants on the bride, and the chorus of men attendants on the bridegroom. Of the various divisions of the poem into its parts, that proposed by Mr. Taylor, the translator of Calmet's Dictionary, seems the best. According to his views the time occupied by the drama is the marriage week of six days. Each day is divided into two Eclogues, one in the morning, and one in the evening; except the last day, which has no evening Eclogue. The bride has been already betrothed, and is come to meet her future husband, whom, according to the Eastern custom, she has never yet seen.

First day: Eclogue I. (chap. i, 2-8).

Bride and her attendants in her chamber.

Eclogue II. (chap. i, 9-ii, 7).

Bride and her attendants in her chamber, the bridegroom speaking without.

Second day: Eclogue III. (chap. ii, 8-17).

Bride in her chamber, and bridegroom and his attendants speaking without.

Eclogue IV. (chap. iii, 1-5).

Bride alone in her chamber.

Third day: Eclogue V. (chap. iii, 6-iv, 6).

Bride and her attendants at her chamber window, and the bridegroom without, who sees her for the first time.

Eclogue VI. (chap. iv, 7-v, 1).

Bride and bridegroom and his attendants, in the bride's chamber.

Fourth day: Eclogue VII. (chap. v. 2-vi, 3).

Bride and her attendants in her chamber. On her waking she relates her dream.

Eclogue VIII. (chap. vi, 4-13).

Bride and bridegroom and their attendants, in the bride's chamber. Then the bride withdraws.

Fifth day: Eclogue IX. (chap. vii, 1-5).

Bride and her attendants, who have been dressing her for the ceremony of her wedding.

Eclogue X. (chap. vii, 6—viii, 4).

Bride and bridegroom alone together.

Sixth day: Eclogue XI. (chap. viii, 5-14).

Attendants at the palace gate, as the bride and bridegroom enter together after their marriage.

Of these eclogues the second, fourth, and tenth end with the same burden, which well marks the close of the day; the third and eleventh end with a second burden; while the fifth and seventh end with thoughts not unlike the last.

In this poem the bridegroom seems to be Solomon, who says that he has already sixty wives and eighty concubines (vi, 8). But it is not probable that the bride should be the Egyptian princess whom Solomon married late in life. She is a native of Palestine, her mother's house is in Jerusalem, her brothers are her guardians; no mention is made of a royal father, nor of her arrival with any princely magnificence. From the unwillingness of commentators to grant a place in the canon of Scripture to a nuptial poem, they have usually endeavoured to find here some mystical allegory or religious argument hidden beneath the surface; but with very little success.

ON THE PROPHETS.

THE Hebrew prophet was a man who had wisdom to foresee the future, who had the power of writing and speaking, and who had that poetic genius which gives persuasiveness and force to the words uttered. He was not a priest, or Levite, or man appointed to a task; but he

stepped forward of his own accord to the high office of warning the nation and its rulers. His voice was against sin of all kinds, against injustice, against idolatry, against deserting Jehovah for the Egyptian or Assyrian gods. His wish was to preserve to the chosen people their nationality, to check foreign marriages, foreign treaties, and foreign customs. Egyptian chariots and cavalry were hateful in his eyes; fortifications were blameable. He called upon his countrymen to trust in themselves and their God. His words were warm with earnestness, with piety, and with hope. When the nation was overrun by foreign armies, was plundered, or was even carried into captivity abroad, he saw in all the hand of a just God punishing them for their sins. He assured them that the day of punishment would be followed by a day of prosperity. He taught them to look forward to that day, the day of the Lord, as a time when peace would be on earth, their nation prosperous, and Jerusalem would give laws, and Jehovah be acknowledged as the only God.

Writings such as these are sometimes hard to be understood. Earnest feelings poured forth 2,500 years ago in a poetic torrent, by an Asiatic, may easily be misunderstood by a Western reader. While writing about the future, and to a people who were familiar with the past and the present, the prophets do not always describe even history clearly. Sometimes they even had a reason for not naming the persons whom they speak about. But by comparing their writings with the Books of Kings and Chronicles, we can, for the most part, learn the times when they wrote, and the events which gave rise to their feelings.

The following slight chronological table will show the dates of the prophetic books, and the events mentioned therein:—

	B.C.
Jeroboam II., Zachariah, and Shallum, kings of Israel, die within the year (2 Kings xv, 8, 14)	773
A prophet Zechariah writes, in the reign of Uzziah, chap. xi. (see 2 Chron. xxvi, 5).	

After Judah had been invaded by the Syrians, by the Edomites, and by the Philistines, the Assyrians, on the invitation of King Abaz, come in and complete the ruin (2 Chron. xxviii, 20)	745
The prophet JOEL writes.	
The Syrians are led captives to Kir by the Assyrians (2 Kings xvi, 9)	745
Many Israelites are taken into captivity by Tiglath Pileser (2 Kings xv, 29)	745
Pekah is murdered (2 Kings xv, 30)	731 or 740
The prophet AMOS writes.	
The captivity of the Israelites by King Shalman, or Shalmaneser (2 Kings xvii, 6)	722
Jareb or Sennacherib becomes King of Assyria	720
The prophet HOSEA writes.	
Hezekiah pays tribute to Sennacherib at Lachish (2 Kings xviii, 14)	715
The prophet MICAH writes.	
The Assyrians encamp under the walls of Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii, 17)	715
The Assyrian war ceases, perhaps on the accession of Esarhaddon (2 Kings xix, 37)	713
The prophet ISAIAH writes (2 Kings xix, xx).	
The prophet ZECHARIAH, the son of JEBERECHIAH, writes chap. ix and x. (See Isaiah viii, 2.)	
Nabopolassar defeats the Assyrians	625
The prophet ZEPHANIAH writes.	
Nabopolassar, the Chaldee king of Babylon, besieges and conquers Nineveh	612
The prophet NAHUM writes.	
Nebuchadnezzar the Chaldee invades Judea	605
The prophet HABAKKUK writes.	
A prophet ZECHARIAH in the reign of Jehoiakim writes chap. xii, xiii and xiv.	
The captivity in Babylon begins	600
Zedekiah is put to death, and Johanan retreats into Egypt	588
The prophet JEREMIAH writes.	
The prophet EZEKIEL writes.	
The prophet OBADIAH writes.	
The Book of Jonah is written.	

	B.C.
Cyrus grants permission for the Jews to return home	535
The later ISAIAH writes ch. xl—lxvi.	
Darius decrees that the temple is to be built	520
The prophet ZECHARIAH, SON OF BARACHIAH, writes ch. i.—vii.	
The prophet HAGGAI writes.	
Nehemiah returns to Jerusalem, and censures the neglect of paying tithes and the marrying foreign wives (chap. xiii)	432
The prophet MALACHI writes.	

One only of the Hebrew books seems written at a later period than it purports. The Book of Daniel speaks of circumstances of history in the style of prophecy, but in a manner which leads us to think that they were already past. It was certainly written at various times ; and by the help of the events mentioned, we may date its chapters as follows :—

	B.C.
Ptolemy Philadelphus gives his daughter in marriage to Antiochus Theos of Syria	249
Chapters i.—vi. were written.	
Antiochus Epiphanes defeats the Egyptians	169
Chapters vii and viii were written.	
Antiochus Epiphanes is stopped in Egypt by the Romans, B.C. 168. The Parthians and Armenians revolt against him	165
Chapters x, xi, xii were written.	
Hyrcanus begins to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem; the Romans change the form of Government into an aristocracy, 483 years after the first year of Cyrus, when the decree was issued for rebuilding the temple (Josephus, Wars, I, viii, 2-5)	53
Chapter ix was written.	

The poetry of these writers is of the very highest order. In some, the style is earnest, short, and full of fire; in others, ornamented, and more flowing. As prophecies, they all point to a coming day, called the Day of the Lord, before which the nation is to have misery and trouble, but which is to be followed by peace and prosperity. In the earlier of these writings, that great day is to be followed by the union of the

kingdoms of Israel and Judah under one sceptre, by the return of the captives, and by the defeat of the Assyrians. In the later writers, this same day is to be marked by the re-establishment of Jerusalem; by the coming of a prince of the line of David, either as an earthly or as a spiritual ruler; by the Gentiles turning to the Jews as their teachers of religion; and by God's reign upon earth.

ON THE BOOK OF JOEL.

THE prophecy of Joel is a bold and forcible description of the whole country being laid waste by a flight of locusts, by which the writer seems to mean the inroad of the Assyrians under Tiglath Pileser in the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah, about the year B.C. 742. The event is described in 2 Chron. xxviii.

The Edomites living between Judea and the Red Sea had rebelled and invaded the kingdom of the two tribes, already weakened by the attacks of the ten tribes of the Israelites and the Syrians of Damascus. Then the Philistines invaded the cities of the south. King Ahaz, in his despair, most unwisely sent to ask for help from his powerful neighbours the Assyrians. Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, who reigned in Nineveh, accordingly sent an army into Judea, not, however, to help the Jews, but to add to their troubles. King Ahaz gave to the Assyrians as tribute the gold ornaments of his palace and of the princes' palaces, and even the sacred gold from the temple; but the Assyrians gave no help in return. They plundered the country of whatever had escaped the Syrians, the Philistines, and the Edomites.

It was then that the prophet Joel, the son of Pethuel, burst out in a strain of scornful eloquence against the unheard-of folly of calling in this body of armed plunderers: "Hear this, ye old men, and give ear, all ye inhabitants of the land. Hath such a thing been in

your days, or even in your fathers' days? Tell your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation." It was sad enough to be plundered by the Syrians, the Philistines, and the Edomites; but much worse to have the whole country laid waste by the Assyrians. "What the grasshopper left the caterpillar hath eaten; what the caterpillar left the cankerworm hath eaten; and what the cankerworm left the locust hath eaten."

The prophet then describes the march of the Assyrians, whom at the time it was, perhaps, wise not to name, in language which leaves it doubtful whether he means an army or a flight of locusts. "A nation is come up upon my land strong and without number, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek-teeth of a great lion. He hath laid my vine waste, and barked my fig-tree." "The field is wasted; the land mourneth." But the prophet adds: "Be ye ashamed, ye husbandmen," reproaching his countrymen with these misfortunes, as having brought them upon themselves.

The whole book is one of the finest pieces of Hebrew poetry. The misery caused by hostile armies was never more finely described: "A fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame burneth. Before them the land is as the garden of Eden, and behind them a desolate wilderness." Equally fine is the call to arms, among men with whom iron was scarce: "Beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears." The miseries of the people are to be healed by turning devoutly to the Lord: "Blow a trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly. Gather together the people; sanctify the congregation; assemble the elders. Let the priests, the servants of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them; lest they should say among the people, Where is their God?"

The fate that the prophet foretold or wished for these

northern invaders was, that, through ignorance of the country, they should march into the desert of Judea. They had marched forward without supplies, meaning to live upon what they could seize; and such a blunder would leave them to perish on the western shore of the Dead Sea. "I will remove," said Joel, speaking in the name of the Lord, "I will remove far off from you the northern host, and will drive it into a land desolate and barren, with its face toward the eastern sea [the Dead Sea], and its back towards the western sea [the Mediterranean]; and its stink shall come up," as it perishes in the desert.

The prophet names the other enemies of Judea freely. "What have ye to do with me, O Tyre and Sidon, and all the coasts of Palestine? Swiftly and speedily will I return your recompense upon your own head." The Egyptians had, no doubt, helped the Edomites; for the prophet includes them in his curse: "Egypt shall be a desolation, and Edom shall be a desolate wilderness, for their violence against the children of Judah."

Some critics have thought that the prophet was simply describing an unusual flight of locusts: but his remarks point too closely to the history above quoted for us to doubt about his meaning. Moreover, locusts are brought into Judea by a south wind from Arabia: and the host described by Joel came from the north. Amos and Nahum afterwards use the locusts as a figure to which they compare the Assyrians.

The writer, with that devout spirit which is the mark of the Hebrew prophets, accepts the misfortunes as sent upon his nation by God, and looks to God for help. He thinks that the greatness of their sufferings marks the approach of that time of help from heaven, to which the Jews always looked in their troubles. The more their nation was humbled, the more earnestly they looked for its re-establishment by Jehovah. "The day of the Lord cometh, for it is nigh at hand; a day of darkness and of gloom, a day of clouds and of thick darkness." But it is to be followed by the re-establish-

ment of Judea; the recall of the ten rebellious tribes to the sovereignty of Jerusalem; and the punishment of their enemies. "In that time, said the Lord, when I shall bring back those who have been taken as captives from Judah and Jerusalem, I will gather together all nations, and bring them down to judgment in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and plead against them for my people, and for Israel my heritage, whom they have scattered."

ON THE BOOK OF AMOS.

THE prophet begins by threatening woe and punishment on Judah and Israel and the neighbouring nations. Woe upon Damascus and the palace of King Benhadad, for the invasion of Gilead; the Syrians shall be led captives to Kir. Woe upon Gaza, for it seized captives and gave them up to the Edomites. Woe upon Ashdod. Woe upon Tyre, for it also helped the Edomites and forgot its old treaty with the Jews. Woe upon the Edomites for their unceasing wars. Woe upon the Ammonites, for they also invaded Gilead. Woe upon Moab. Woe upon Judah for their idolatry. Woe upon Israel for their wickedness (i and ii).

The prophet tells Israel that the land shall be surrounded, and the palaces plundered (iii, 11); and, like Joel, he does not name the Assyrians, who were the invaders. The idolatrous altars at Bethel shall be broken (iii, 14). The famine in Israel was sent as a punishment for the idolatry in Gilgal and Bethel (iv). Woe upon those who wish for the day of the Lord; to them it will be a day of darkness, not of light. Their offerings will be rejected, for they have worshipped the god Moloch and the goddess Chiun. They shall go into captivity beyond Damascus (v). Judah and Israel are alike rebuked; they that are at ease in Zion, and they that trust in the mountain of Samaria. A great nation, that is the Assyrians, shall be raised up to punish them (vi). This nation is compared in a vision,

with Joel's simile, to locusts who devour the grass of the land (vii, 2).

Amor says that King Jeroboam, by which name he seems to mean the idolatrous Pekah, king of Israel, will die by the sword; and the priest of Bethel reproachfully tells him to go and prophecy in Judea (vii). There is afterwards to be a famine of hearing the word of the Lord (viii). And at length the day of the Lord will come, when prosperity will return, and Israel will be brought back from captivity (ix).

[According to the introductory verse, Amos lived in the reigns of Uzziah, king of Judah, and Jeroboam, king of Israel; that is, he was born before the year B.C. 773. But he wrote after the invasion by the Assyrians; after the first captivity of Israel by Tiglath Pileser (2 Kings xv, 29); after the Assyrians had been carried away into captivity to Kir (2 Kings xvi, 9) that is, after B.C. 745. It was also after the violent death of the king, here called Jeroboam, but whom we suppose to be Pekah (2 Kings xv, 30); that is, after B.C. 731. Thus Amos was warning Israel of their sins soon after Joel had warned Judah. He, perhaps, had read Joel's writings. Like Joel, he speaks of the Assyrians as locusts, and does not once name them. He had also read the Book of Genesis, or at least the History of the patriarch Joseph and his children; since he uses the word Joseph as another name for the two tribes Ephraim and Manasseh.

There seems a difficulty in the prophet's speaking of the violent death of Jeroboam, king of Israel, who died about forty years earlier than the date we are giving to this book. But it is King Pekah, whom, for his idolatries, he calls in anger by the name of the wicked Jeroboam. Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who rebelled against Solomon's son, set up the golden calf at Bethel (1 Kings xii, 29), and Pekah, says the historian, departed not from the sin of Jeroboam (2 Kings xv, 28). The prophet could give to the idolatrous Pekah no more reproachful name than Jeroboam. The second Jeroboam, the son of Joash, in whose reign Amos was perhaps

born, was equally idolatrous; but he died quietly, and slept with his fathers (2 Kings xiv, 29).

The name of this prophet is, in the Hebrew, spelt differently from Amoz, the father of Isaiah. But in the Septuagint the two names are the same; and from the times in which they lived, it is not impossible that the one writer may have been the father of the other.]

ON THE BOOK OF HOSEA.

ACCORDING to the introductory verse, Hosea lived in the reigns of Jeroboam, king of Israel, and of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah; that is, he was born before the year B.C. 773, and died after the year B.C. 728. He mentions Shalman, or Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, who conquered Samaria, and his successor Jareb or Sennacherib. The book, therefore, was written a little later than B.C. 721.

The first three chapters have less of poetry than the rest. They describe the idolatries of Ephraim, or the ten tribes of Israel, under the figure of an adulterous marriage. The first offspring of that marriage is called Jezreel, the name of the fatal spot in which Jehu killed his king (*see* 2 Kings ix, 16); and the new Jezreel caused the destruction of the kingdom and of Jehu's successor on the throne: that is, that Israel's wickedness in the reign of Jeroboam led to the murder of Zachariah, the last of Jehu's race, in the year B.C. 773 (2 Kings xv, 8). With this began the alliance of Israel with Assyria, and the nation's weakness and ruin. The second offspring of this evil marriage is Lo-ruhamah, or *No-Mercy*, for the nation is to be utterly carried away (i, 6). The third offspring is Lo-ammi, or *Not-my-people*, for Ephraim is no longer God's people. But afterwards they will forsake Baalim, the false gods, and be allowed to return and seek Jehovah and a king of the line of David (iii). [Thus he foretells that the tribes will some day be allowed to return home.]

In the second part the prophet reproaches the people and the priests with their sins; like people, like priests (iv. 9). The nation of Ephraim hath gone after idols (iv, 17). He hopes Judah will continue faithful to Jehovah, and go not up to Gilgal, the capital, now a city of idolatry, nor to Bethaven, a reproachful name for Bethel, where Jeroboam had set up a golden calf as the nation's God (1 Kings xii, 29). But when Ephraim shall fall in their iniquity, Judah will fall with them (v, 5); for one of these little kingdoms cannot stand without the other. When Ephraim saw his sickness and Judah his wound, then Ephraim went to the Assyrian, and [Judah] sent to King Jareb; but he does not heal them (v, 13. [This offer of tribute to Sennacherib by the king of Judah is mentioned in 2 Kings xviii, 13.]

In the third part the prophet continues: Ephraim have mixed themselves with the Gentiles (vii, 8); they call to Egypt for help; but in vain; and they go to Assyria into captivity (vii, 11). Their calf, the Samaritan idol, hath cast them off (viii, 5). [This took place in the year B.C. 722, after Hoshea had sought for assistance from Sevechus, king of Egypt. Samaria was then conquered by Shalmaneser, and the nobles carried into captivity (2 Kings, xvii).]

At the same time Judah did wrong in multiplying their fenced cities which are threatened with destruction (viii, 14). [This attack upon the fenced cities was made by Sennacherib. See 2 Kings, xviii, 13.]

At the time of this trouble it seems that many Israelites escaped into Egypt from the danger; and the prophet adds, they shall not dwell in the Lord's land, but part of Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and part eat unclean things in Assyria (ix, 3). They will be destroyed, Egypt shall gather them up, and Memphis shall bury them (ix, 6). [The pyramids, the tombs of Memphis, were famous over the world.]

The carrying away of the inhabitants, in order to check future rebellions, was not completed by Shalmaneser. Many more are now to be sent into Assyria

as a present to Jareb, his successor (x, 6). The king of Samaria was cut off like foam upon the water (x, 7). Indeed, Hoshea was a wicked king; God gave him to the nation in anger and took him away in wrath (xiii, 11).

The prophet also warns Judah to seek the Lord; for while Ephraim draws like a yoked heifer, Judah shall plough (x, 11). They have trusted in the multitude of their mighty men; therefore all their fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalmaneser spoiled Betharbel in the battle when Samaria was conquered (x, 11-14).

But when Israel repent of their idolatry and return to Jehovah, his favour shall fall upon them like dew; they shall grow as the lily, and their beauty be as an olive-tree (xiv, 5).

[Hosea addresses his advice and remonstrance chiefly to Israel, his countrymen; but not wholly. Part of his warning is to Judah, and we must suppose that while writing he was dwelling in safety within the latter kingdom. He was perhaps one of those Israelites who went up to Jerusalem from Samaria when invited there to keep the passover by Hezekiah, while the danger which had overwhelmed Israel was hanging over Judah (2 Chron., xxx, 1).]

ON THE BOOK OF MICAH.

MICAH lived in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. He wrote about the same time as Hosea, while Samaria was in the hands of the Assyrians, and Jerusalem was threatened at its very gates. This was in the reign of Hezekiah, about B.C. 715. At that time "the Lord bore witness against Israel and against Judah by all the prophets and all the seers, saying, Turn ye away from your evil ways and keep my commandments and my statutes according to all the law which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent to you by my servants the prophets" (2 Kings, xvii, 13).

The prophet says that the Lord is coming forth to tread down the high places of the earth. Samaria shall be like a heap of rubbish. Her disease is incurable; it has spread even to Jerusalem (i, 9). History tells us that even the good King Hezekiah in his alarm was willing to make a treaty with the Assyrians, and sent the sacred gold as a tribute to meet Sennacherib at Lachish (2 Kings xviii, 14). And the prophet in shame says, "O thou inhabitant of Lachish, bind the chariot to the swift beast; she is the beginning of the sin to the daughter of Zion" (i, 13). He rebukes the iniquity of the people, but adds that hereafter God will unite together the whole of the tribes of Jacob; he will gather together all that remains of Israel, and make of them one flock (ii). He reproves the princes and the prophets who mislead the people by advising peace. It will be the destruction of Jerusalem (iii). But in the last days Zion will be again established; nations shall come up in peace to the House of God. Then, using the words of Joel, but in the opposite sense—then they will beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and Jerusalem shall be the peaceable capital of nations (iv, 3).

Now, O Zion, thou shalt march against Babylon, and be delivered from thine enemies. Gather thyself against the besiegers. A saviour shall arise out of Bethlehem, by whose help thou shalt defeat the Assyrians, and lay waste the land of Nimrod. And the remnant of Jacob shall be like a lion among the nations. But in that day thou shalt lay aside thy cavalry and war chariots, and throw down thy fortifications, and break thine idols, and root up thy sacred groves, and execute vengeance on the heathen (v).

The people are reminded of Balaam's wise answer to Balak in the Book of Numbers, and are reproved for following the idolatrous statues of King Omri, and the evil deeds of his son Ahab (vi). But when in trouble the Lord will be a light to them, and the walls will be re-built, and a certain unjust decree removed; and they are comforted with the thought that God will pardon

them; that he retaineth not his anger for ever, but delighteth in mercy (vii).

[Micah wrote a very short time before Isaiah, but Isaiah does not speak of Hezekiah's tribute to Sennacherib, which Micah seems to blame severely. The unjust decree that is to be repealed is spoken of in Isaiah x, 1. Micah is mentioned and quoted in Jeremiah xxvi, where king Hezekiah is praised for bearing patiently the prophet's reproof.]

ON THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

ISAIAH, the son of Amoz, lived, says the introductory verse, in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. Thus he was born before the year B.C. 759. The history related in his writings belongs to the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah. He describes the sufferings of Judah. He points out that they were sent from God as a punishment. He foretells the downfall of the Assyrians and the other nations through whom his countrymen were afflicted, and then a time of prosperity. But the events mentioned as already past in the latter part of the book show that those chapters were written more than a hundred years later, during the Babylonian captivity. And the same may be said of some smaller portions mingled with Isaiah's writings. Two larger parts, that by Isaiah, and that at the end, sometimes called the work of the later Isaiah, are of high interest, as containing many of those passages which led the Jews to look for a Messiah. The circumstances under which the two prophets wrote are so unlike, that they may be separated with tolerable certainty.

Chaps. i-v.—Isaiah rebukes his countrymen as a sinful nation that have forsaken the Lord; and, as a punishment, their country is desolate, their cities are burned, their land is devoured by strangers. Zion alone is left as a besieged city. He calls them rulers of Sodom, and people of Gomorrah. The Lord refuses their

offerings, and abhors their sabbaths and feasts, till they learn to do well and seek judgment. But hereafter Zion shall be cleansed and called the city of righteousness. Her judges shall be restored and the wicked punished (i). And in the last days the nations will go up to the mountain of the Lord's house, for out of Zion shall go forth the law. He calls upon the people to walk in the light of the Lord; for Thou hast forsaken Thy people, because their land is full of idols, and they worship the work of their own hands. But their haughtiness shall be brought down, and in the day of the Lord men shall hide themselves in the rock through fear (ii). The Lord will then allow Jerusalem to be ruined and Judah to be brought low for their sins (iii). But in that day, when the filth has been washed away from Zion, all that remains in Jerusalem will be holy (iv).

The prophet tells a parable of a vineyard with a tower in it. The vineyard is the house of Israel, the tower is Jerusalem. The owner digs and plants the vineyard, but it brings forth only wild grapes. So he lays it waste as a punishment. Thus for their sins the people are gone into captivity. They called good evil, and evil good. Therefore the Lord's anger was kindled, and is not yet turned away; but his hand is stretched out to punish (v).

[The captivity here spoken of is that of Israel and some of Judah by the Assyrians, not the great captivity by the Babylonians. In this part is a passage (ii, 1-4) quoted from the prophet Micah (iv, 1-3). The description of peace as a time when men shall beat their swords into ploughshares (ii, 4), is borrowed from Joel's grand command to beat your ploughshares into swords, and prepare for war (iii, 10).]

CHAP. vi. *Isaiah's Call to the Office of Prophet.*—In the year that King Uzziah died, Isaiah had a vision. He saw Jehovah on his throne in the temple, and around him were seraphs singing his praises. He was awe-struck, as being too unclean to look upon the Lord. But one of the seraphs touches his lips with a

live coal to purify him; and the Lord tells him to go as a prophet to his countrymen, but not to let them see, or hear, or understand, till the land is utterly desolate.

[This was in the year B.C. 759, when Isaiah was a very young man, and while the land was being overrun by the Assyrians.]

CHAP. vii-xii. *Against the Assyrians.*

It was in the reign of Ahaz, the grandson of Uzziah, that the kings of Israel and Syria came up against Judah. Isaiah then went to meet King Ahaz, and told him, from Jehovah, that within sixty-five years Israel should cease to be a nation. As a sign, he told him that a young woman, probably the king's wife, should have a son, to be named Immanuel, and before that child should grow to manhood those two kings should be cut off. The Lord will cut them off by means of the king of Assyria, as with a hired razor (vii). The prophet also supposes a child born to himself, borrowing the figure from Hosea, and the Lord tells him that before this child shall be able to say, My father, My mother, Damascus and Samaria shall be plundered by the king of Assyria. He will overshadow the whole land of Judah. Darkness and trouble will be over the land (viii). The trouble shall be heavier than what before fell on Zebulon and Naphtali, or even than what afterwards befell the coasts of Galilee (ix, 1).

But already a light dawns upon the nation of Judah. To us a child is born on whom the government will rest. He will be the Prince of Peace. Israel, on the other hand, will be cut off root and branch by the Syrians and Philistines, while civil war between Ephraim and Manasseh will add to the misery (ix). Woe unto them that make unrighteous decrees; the Assyrians shall be brought in to punish them. But when the Lord hath performed his whole work against Zion, he will break the power of the Assyrians. The nation need not despair; after a little time the foreign yoke shall be broken.

For the present the enemy has marched through Galilee and Samaria, and is encamped within the land

of Benjamin, around Jerusalem. He has arrived at Aiath and Migron. On reaching the hills he has laid up his carriages at Michmash. The people have fled. He shakes his fist at Mount Zion (x). But a rod has sprung out of the stem of Jesse, and the spirit of the Lord is upon him. He will govern in righteousness and meekness. Peace will return to the land. Israel and Judah will be united. He will defeat the Philistines, the people of the East, the Edomites, the Moabites, and the children of Ammon. The dispersed will return from Egypt and Assyria (xi). Praise and glory will be given to God for his mercies (xii).

[Here we have the events of history from the reign of Ahaz till the fourteenth year of Hezekiah; the invasion of Tiglath-pileser against the north-east of Galilee, of Shalmaneser against the coast; the birth of Hezekiah; Israel taken captive; and the march of Sennacherib to the walls of Jerusalem. Then is shadowed out the peace with the Assyrians, and perhaps Hezekiah's summons to the Samaritans to come up to Jerusalem and keep the passover with the Jews. (*See* 2 Chron. xxx).

Chap. ix, 8, to x, 4, is a regular poem of four long sentences, each ending with the same words.]

CHAP. xiii, xiv., 1-23. *The Sentence upon Babylon, by a later writer.*—The prophet, speaking in the name of Jehovah, says, that he has commanded kingdoms and nations to be gathered together to destroy the whole of Chaldea. He will stir up the Medes against them; and Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the pride and boast of the Chaldees, shall be like Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall not be inhabited. The Arab shall not pitch his tent there, nor the shepherd fold his sheep there (xiii). Then the Lord will rescue Israel, and give them rest in their own land; and they will say, How hath the tyrant fallen, and the tribute ceased! The Lord hath broken the sceptres of the rulers who smote the people. How art thou fallen, O son of the East! Is this the man that shook kingdoms, and opened not his prisons? (xiv, 1-23).

[This portion is the work of a later writer. It was written during the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, and while that capital of the Chaldees was on the point of being conquered by the Medes. This must have been in the reign either of Astyages or of Cyaxares II.; perhaps after the year B. C. 583, when the young Cyrus led the Median army against Babylon, and before the year B. C. 536, when Media lost its name in history, and became part of the more famous kingdom of the Persians.]

CHAP. xiv. 24-27. *Against the Assyrians, continued.*—Isaiah, speaking in the name of Jehovah, says, I will crush the Assyrian in my land, upon my mountains I will tread him under foot, and his yoke shall depart from off them.

[These three verses should follow chap. x. They speak of the Assyrian army as still encamped in the hill country around Jerusalem.]

CHAP. xiv, 28-32. *Sentence upon the Philistines.*—In the year that King Ahaz died, Isaiah cries out, Rejoice not, Philistia, because the rod that smote thee is broken, for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a basilisk. And I will kill thy root with famine, and thy remnant shall be slain.

[Uzziah, the grandfather of Ahaz, had defeated the Philistines (*see* 2 Chron. xxvi, 6), and they were soon to be wholly overthrown by Hezekiah. (*See* 2 Kings xviii, 8). But as the prophet mentions a smoke from the north, he perhaps means that their overthrow is to come from the Assyrians.]

CHAP. xv, xvi. *Two Sentences upon Moab, by a later writer.* *They should perhaps be joined to Chap. xxxiv, xxxv.*—The cities of Ar-moab and Kir-moab are laid waste. The people are fled to Bajith and Bibon on the hills to weep. They will howl over the towns Nebo and Medeba. The towns of Heshbon and Elealeh shall cry, and their voice be heard even to Jahaz. They flee towards Judea; some southwards by Zoar, others northwards by Luhith and Horonaim. The waters of Nimrim shall be desolate, and the river Dimon full of

blood. Send the present of a lamb from Selah in the desert to Zion. The women will run towards the fords of the river Arnon towards Judea. But take counsel. Do what is right. Let oppression cease. Shelter the Jewish fugitives, and in mercy shall thy throne be established (xv, xvi, 5).

Again,

The pride of Moab will be humbled. They will mourn for Kirhareth. The fields of Heshbon and vineyards of Sibmah languish. The heathen have overrun them. They have come even to Jazer in Gilead. Gladness is taken away, and there is no joy in the field. And Moab will go to the sanctuary to pray, but will not prevail. This is the word that the Lord afterwards spoke concerning Moab. And within three years the glory of Moab shall be brought low, and the remnant shall be very small (xvi).

[The invasions of Moab here spoken of were from the East, and at a time when Judah had been afflicted. The Assyrians or Persians were no doubt the invaders; but history does not help us to fix the time spoken of. It may, perhaps, be that of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, B. C. 591: as we find the same reproaches upon Moab and Edom in Ezekiel xxv. Moab is here spoken of as containing the Edomite city of Selah or Petra.]

CHAP. xvii, 1-11. *Sentence on Damascus.*—The capital of Syria is to be ruined, and at the same time Ephraim is to be overthrown and Judah to wax very thin. In that day a man will look to his Maker, and have respect to the Holy One of Israel.

[Assyria was to cause the ruin of the three kingdoms.]

CHAP. xvii, 12-14.—These three verses contain a threat of woe against the Assyrians. They seem to belong to the end of chap. x, perhaps to follow chap. xiv, 24-27.

CHAP. xviii. *On Southern Ethiopia, or Abyssinia.*—The prophet hastens forward the ambassadors towards a land beyond Ethiopia, a country divided by rivers. But he adds, that the time will come when these people will be brought low; and then, on the other hand, they

will send ambassadors to Judah with presents to Mount Zion.

[This may describe an embassy from Hezekiah to Seve or So, king of Ethiopia, to ask for help against the Assyrians. Hoshea, king of Israel, had before sent ambassadors to the same distant king, who was then conquering Egypt (2 Kings xvii, 4). But, on the other hand, as the embassy was to go by sea, the prophet may mean Abyssinia.]

CHAP. XIX. *Sentence on Egypt.*—Isaiah describes the civil wars in Lower Egypt which followed upon the fall of Thebes, and adds, A fierce king shall rule over them. The princes of Tanis are fools, the princes of Memphis are deceived. There are to be five cities in the land of Goshen so full of Jews that they speak the language of Canaan, and one will be called, The City of Destruction. And there shall be an altar to the Lord in Egypt; and both Egypt and Assyria shall be at peace with Israel, and turn to the Lord.

[Seve or Sevechus, king of Ethiopia, who conquered Egypt in about B. C. 729, seems here spoken of. To relieve the city which held the altar from the prophet's reproach, the Septuagint changes the reading to The City of Righteousness.]

CHAP. XX. *On Egypt and Ethiopia.*—In the year that Tartan, the Assyrian general, took the Philistine city of Ashdod in the name of his master King Sargon, Isaiah foretells that the king of Assyria shall lead captive both the Ethiopians and the Egyptians. Israel shall be ashamed of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their boast.

[Tartan was general of the Assyrians in the reign of Sennacherib (see 2 Kings xviii, 17), but probably did not end the siege of Ashdod till the beginning of Esarhaddon's reign in B. C. 713. Esarhaddon's name may be corrupted into Sargon, as it is Sarchedon in the Book of Tobit. It was not till then that Ethiopia and Egypt became one kingdom in the eyes of the prophet, under Tirhakah. Under his predecessor Seve, Isaiah had considered Egypt and Ethiopia as two nations. He thought

Ethiopian friendship desirable (chap. xviii), but Egyptian friendship not to be sought for.]

CHAP. xxi, 1-10. *On Babylon when conquered by the Medes and Persians, by a late writer.*—The prophet says, Go up, O Elam! Besiege, O Media! He sees a vision of horsemen and chariots, and then cries out, Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods are broken to the ground.

[This was written about the year B.C. 583, when Media joined Elam or Persia in the fatal attack upon Babylon.]

CHAP. xxi, 11-17. *Sentence upon Dumah and Arabia.*—By Arabia is meant only a northern portion of what now bears that name. Dumah is a part of Northern Arabia, mentioned in Genesis xxv, 14.

CHAP. xxii. *Judea invaded by the Assyrians.*—It is a day of trouble and perplexity. Elam bears the quiver, with chariots and horsemen. Kir uncovereth the shield. The valleys are full of horsemen. Breaches are made in the city walls.

The Lord sends the prophet to Shebna, the treasurer of the household. He tells him that he will be driven from his post, and Eliakim, the son of Hilkiyah, appointed in his stead.

[This was written while Jerusalem was besieged by Sennacherib in the reign of Hezekiah. Shebna and Eliakim are mentioned in 2 Kings xviii. Kir is part of Assyria, perhaps the modern Georgia (*see* 2 Kings xvi, 9); Elam, or Western Persia, was then under Assyria.]

CHAP. xxiii. *Sentence on Tyre.*—Howl, ships of Tarsus; Tyre is laid waste, the city that the merchants of Sidon crowded. The corn of the Nile was her revenue. She was the maker of kings, her merchants were princes, her tradesmen the nobles of the earth. The Assyrians will destroy the city, and at the end of seventy years it will be a by-word.

[This siege of Tyre is mentioned by Menander, as quoted by Josephus. It was in the reign of Shalmaneser. Sidon was not included in the ruin, because it joined the Assyrians.]

CHAP. XXIV,—XXVII. *On the Desolation of Judea; the Destruction of Babylon; and the Return from Captivity; by a later writer.*—The land is utterly waste, because the people forsook the law. Mirth has ceased. The city is empty, the gates are broken. But in that day the Lord will punish the kings of the earth, and reign in Mount Zion in glory.

O Lord, I will praise thy name. Thou hast made the fortified city a ruin. The palace of the stranger is destroyed. The tyrants are brought low.

In that day Judah will say, Open the gates, that the righteous nation may enter. Wait for a little moment, till God's anger be passed, when he will punish the oppressors. In that day Jacob shall take root, and Israel shall flourish. In that day the Lord will gather again the children of Israel from the Euphrates and the Nile, and the outcasts shall return and worship the Lord in Jerusalem.

[This is one of the modern portions, written in the reign of Cyrus, when the captivity was drawing to a close.]

CHAP. XXVIII—XXXIII. *The Sufferings of Ephraim and Judah; Alliance with Egypt blamed; Happy times will follow.*—Woe on the pride of Ephraim; it shall be trodden under foot. The people, and the priest, and the prophet have all gone astray. The Lord taught them with precept upon precept, and line upon line; but they would not hear. But he will lay in Zion a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation (xxviii).

Woe on Jerusalem. The enemy will encamp around it, raise mounds against it, and forts against it. But, though the foreigners are countless as the sands, all that fight against Jerusalem will pass away as a dream of the night. The meek shall increase in joy, and the terrible one be brought to nought (xxix).

Woe on the rebellious people who look to Egypt for help, and trust in Pharaoh. They sent to Tanis and Daphnæ; but the Egyptians will help in vain. The prophets are not listened to. Nevertheless, by the voice of the Lord the Assyrian will be overthrown. The

valley of Tophet was of old appointed for their bodies to be burnt in (xxx). Woe on those who look to Egypt for help, and trust in chariots and horses. The Assyrian shall fall, but not by the sword (xxxii).

Then a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes rule in justice. The spirit shall be poured on us from on high, and the people shall dwell in peace (xxxii).

Woe to the spoiler; salvation is from the Lord. The highways lie waste, the land mourneth. But Jerusalem shall be a quiet habitation. Not one of her stakes shall ever be removed. For the Lord is our king; he will save us (xxxiii).

[These six chapters seem to speak of the wars of Sennacherib in the reign of Hezekiah, and of the treaty with Tirhakah, king of Egypt (2 Kings xix).]

CHAP. xxxiv, xxxv. *Sentence on Babylon, continued; by a later writer.*—The indignation of the Lord is upon all the hostile nations; there will be a great slaughter in Bozrah and Edom. It is the day of the Lord's vengeance, and a year of recompense for Zion. The streams of the enemy's city shall become pitch, and her dust brimstone. The beasts of the desert shall dwell therein (xxxiv). But the desert shall blossom like Sharon. The blind shall see, the deaf shall hear, the lame man shall leap. There shall be a highway, over which the unclean shall not pass, nor the wild beast roam; but the ransomed of the Lord shall return by it, and Zion shall sing for joy.

[This clearly points to the return from captivity, and was written while the prisoners were yet at Babylon. That city is not mentioned: but the destruction threatened to all hostile nations seems more particularly meant for Babylon. It was at that time also that Bozrah had flourished and was overthrown. (See Jeremiah xlix, 13, 22). When in chap. xxxiv. 16, 17 the writer quotes the Book of the Lord, for the division of the land among the tribes, he seems to refer to the Book of Joshua, which probably formed part of the larger book.]

CHAP. xxxvi-xxxix. *The History of Hezekiah, by a*

later writer.—These four chapters are far more modern than the time of Isaiah, and are taken out of the Second Book of Kings, from chap. xviii, 13 to chap. xx, 20. They contain all that history has told us of the life of Isaiah. The editor, however, has dropped the account of Hezekiah's giving the royal and sacred treasures as a tribute to Sennacherib at Lachish. (*See 2 Kings xviii, 15–17*). This act of Hezekiah, which is so honestly told in the Book of Kings, seems to be severely blamed by the prophet Micah (i, 13), but is not mentioned by Isaiah in its place in chap x.

The editor has also given us, in addition, Hezekiah's song of thanksgiving (xxxviii, 9–20) which is not now in the history. This song was written with the help of Psalms cii and cxv, from which some of the thoughts are borrowed, though not in the same words; and we see that the song was an original part of the history from our finding that some of the thoughts in the history are also borrowed from the first of these Psalms. Thus the Psalmist, speaking of his illness, had said, "My days are like a shadow that declineth;" so the historian says that Hezekiah's recovery from his illness was typified by the shadow going back upon the dial.

CHAP. xl—*End, by a later writer.*—The last twenty-seven chapters of the Book of Isaiah were written by an unknown author about the year B.C. 536. They speak of the Jews as in captivity (xliii, 22–24). But Babylon is fallen. Her gods are humbled. Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth (xlvi, 1). Cyrus the Persian is king, and is shortly to rebuild Jerusalem (xliv, 28). The people are to return from Babylon (xlviii, 20): and as Cyrus is on his march westward, the prophet declares that God will give him Egypt and Ethiopia and Arabia as a ransom for the Jews whom he is setting free (xliii, 3. xlv, 14). Two verses, xli, 6 and 7, are out of place; and should follow upon xl, 19.

[The writer of these latter chapters mentions less of past history than Isaiah. He is unlike him also in his style, and, still more, in his religious feelings and hopes. His poetry is more flowing, more ornamental, and less

abrupt. He has more earnestness of feeling and less earnestness of action. He is more lofty in his religious thoughts. He has more sweetness and less strength. The nation had suffered sixty years of captivity and disappointment, and their religious feelings had been softened and spiritualised by adversity. His chief peculiarity is the expression of religious hope, which ennobles every wish for the worldly prosperity of the nation. Indeed, he continually leaves us in doubt whether the Saviour he is looking for is to recall the world from idolatry and sin, or to bring back the Jews from Babylon; whether he is to establish God's kingdom upon earth, or the Jewish nation in Jerusalem. When he says, "Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of the Lord, make ye in the desert a highway for our God" (xl. 3), it is hard to believe that he is speaking only of the route for the return of the captives from Babylon. When he says to the anointed one, "I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight; I will break in pieces the gates of brass. For Jacob my servant's sake, and for Israel mine elect, I have called thee by name" (xlv. 1),—his thoughts rise far above Cyrus, who was then delivering the Jews from captivity. The prophet, throughout, calls upon the people to keep justice and practise righteousness, for the coming of their salvation is at hand. These latter chapters contain many of the passages which led the Jews to look for a Messiah, or anointed saviour; they have furnished many of the most important quotations in the New Testament. As a religious writer, this unknown author stands among the first in the Old Testament. As a poet, though he must yield in some points to Joel and the old prophets, yet, upon the whole, he ranks among the first in any language.

In chap. lii, he quotes from the prophet Nahum the words "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." In chap. li, he quotes from the four or five last verses of Ps. cii, and then from Ps. viii, verse 4.

He had read Jeremiah, and seems to be speaking of

him in chap. liii, beginning, "Which of us believed what we heard?" When he describes the prophet as despised and rejected of men, he says, "He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter." In these latter words, Jeremiah had described himself in chap. xi, 19.]

ON THE BOOK OF ZEPHANIAH.

ZEPHANIAH wrote in the reign of Josiah, king of Judah, when the kingdom of Israel had been conquered by the Assyrians, and a few years before Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judea.

He says that the Lord will cut off the worshippers of idols, and those who bow to the stars on the house-tops. The day of Jehovah is at hand. There will be a howling through Jerusalem. There will be distress and anguish, and sound of trumpet, and war-shout against the fortified cities, because of the people's sins. He calls upon them to turn to Jehovah before the day comes. Gaza will be forsaken; Askalon will be desolate; Ashdod shall be driven out, and Ekron rooted up; the land of the Philistines shall be without inhabitants. Moab and Ammon shall be a salt-pit, and shall be possessed by the residue of Judah. Even the Ethiopians shall be slain and Nineveh destroyed.

Alas for the rebellious Jerusalem! It shall be punished; but the Lord will be just, and utterly cut off the hostile nations. Then shall all men call upon his name, and serve him with one consent. The dispersed Israelites shall bring offerings to the temple even from Abyssinia beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia, and the residue at home shall cease from injustice and live in peace. Then Jerusalem may rejoice; for God will pardon her, and gather together the scattered, and make for her a name among the nations.

[This was probably written after the Assyrians had been weakened by the loss of Babylon in B.C. 625, while Judah was for a moment freed from invasion, and while King Josiah was putting down idolatry.]

ON THE BOOK OF NAHUM.

THE kingdom of Judah was saved from the northern invasion during the reign of Josiah by the wars between the Chaldees and the Assyrians. The latter were now sinking. By the seventeenth year of Josiah, Nabopolassar the Chaldee was master of Babylon, which the Assyrians had held for three reigns. A few years later he marched against Nineveh, which was then the greatest and richest city known to those nations. He laid siege to it and conquered it in the thirtieth year of Josiah, B.C. 612. It was during this siege that the prophet Nahum wrote. Joel, Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah, had written in words of lamentation, of consolation, and of hope. But Nahum writes in triumph. The Assyrians were now to be humbled. They had been the enemies of Israel and Judah for one hundred and sixty years. They had carried Israel into captivity, and had made Judah pay tribute. But the sufferers now hope for rest in the wars of their enemies.

Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, O Judah! For the wicked shall no more pass through thee, he is utterly cut off (i). Chariots shall rage in the streets, and jostle one another in the broadways of the conquered city. They hasten to the wall and prepare the defence. But in vain; the gates are opened; the palace is destroyed. The people of Nineveh flee away. Stand, stand, they cry; but none will look back. Take the spoil of silver and gold. She is empty and waste (ii). Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord. I will show the nations thy nakedness, and the kingdoms thy shame. Art thou better than the great Thebes, whose moat was a river and floods her defence? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, Africa and Libya were her allies. But she was carried away into captivity (iii, 10).

Then the prophet takes up Joel's simile, and tauntingly speaks of the Assyrians as locusts, who are only terrible in the cool of the morning, but when the sun

ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known (iii, 17).

[Nahum's style is equal to the best of the prophetic writings. He is earnest and full of fire. His sentences are short. He speaks pictures.]

ON THE BOOK OF HABAKKUK.

HITHERTO the prophets have been writing in indignation against the Assyrians, who had overthrown the kingdom of Israel, and at times made the kingdom of Judah tributary. They speak of the sufferings of their countrymen under the invasions of Tiglath Pileser, of Shalmaneser, of Sennacherib, and of Esarhaddon. But now the language is changed. A new enemy appears. The Chaldeans, another northern race, under Nabopolassar, had defeated the Assyrians, and from them gained possession of Nineveh. Nebuchadnezzar, the next king, marched against Jehoiakim, king of Judah, about the year B.C. 605. "The Lord sent against Jehoiakim bands of the Chaldees, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the Ammonites, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by his servants the prophets" (2 Kings, xxiv, 2). It was then that Habakkuk wrote. His book is in the form of a dialogue.

The prophet begins by complaining that the righteous are spoiled by the wicked, that his nation is overrun by their enemies (i, 2-4).

The Lord answers that he has raised up the Chaldees to punish them. They are a dreadful nation, powerful in cavalry; they will laugh at fortifications, heap their mounds around them, and take them (i, 5-11).

The prophet bows to God's judgments, but asks if the enemy shall never cease to slay the nations (i, 12—ii, 1).

The Lord answers, without naming the Chaldees, that their souls are not upright, and that in due time

they shall be punished for their violence, their cruelty, and their idolatry (ii).

The prophet concludes with praising God's majesty and power, and declares that though his fig-tree, his vine, and his olive shall fail, and his flocks and his herds die, yet he will trust in the Lord (iii).

[Habakkuk had read Isaiah, whose words he is using in chap. ii, 14. His style of poetry is regular, but most rich with lofty flights of imagination. While foretelling the sad misfortunes of his nation, his devout trust in God is as firm as it is beautifully expressed.]

ON THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH.

No Hebrew writer has left us so many particulars of his own life as Jeremiah. He was a native of Anathoth, a town near Jerusalem. His father, Hilkiah, was a priest there, and was the person by whom the Book of Deuteronomy was made public; and thus he felt that he was chosen by God for the prophetic office even before he was born into the world. He began to preach in the thirteenth year of Josiah, king of Judah, or B.C. 629 (i). After a short time he visited the capital, and called upon the people of Jerusalem to leave their Assyrian and Egyptian idols and to return to the God of their fathers. The Pagans never changed their gods; but the Israelites had forsaken Jehovah (ii).

He mourns over faithless Judah as more guilty than rebellious Israel. But if they return to their God they will be received; Jerusalem will be called Jehovah's throne; nations will resort to it; and Israel and Judah will be united (iii).

He threatens Jerusalem with a great evil which Jehovah will bring from the North—when the cities shall be laid waste, the priests shall be amazed, and the prophets confounded. The destroyer will come like a storm, with chariots like a whirlwind, and horses swifter than eagles. At the noise of horsemen and bowmen the

cities are forsaken; men flee into the thickets and to the rock (iv). If God could find in Jerusalem only one man doing justice, he would spare the city. But Israel and Judah have denied Jehovah; therefore he will bring down upon them a nation from afar, whose language they do not understand, who will lay waste the country and kill their sons (v). The prophet advises the people to leave Jerusalem, to light the beacon on the hills, for destruction is coming from the North. The enemy will hew down trees, and raise a mound against Jerusalem; and unless the people repent of their sins, it will be made a desolation (vi).

At another time Jeremiah, standing at the gate of the temple, calls on the people to repent. He reminds them how Shiloh, the capital of Samaria, had been destroyed for its idolatry; and if Judah continues to make cakes for the Queen of Heaven, they will be destroyed like Israel. He tells them to mourn for God's wrath; there will be slaughter in the valley of Hinnom (vii). The graves of their kings will be broken open. The snorting of the enemy's horses is already heard from Dan (viii). He wishes that his eyes were a fountain to weep for the slain, or for a lodge in the desert, that he might not see the people's sin and punishment; for Judah will be punished with Egypt, and Edom, and Ammon, and Moab (ix).

Jeremiah's reproaches against his countrymen's idolatry, and his melancholy forebodings of the coming woe, gave great offence to many. The men of Anathoth, his native town, plotted against his life; and, he says, he was led like a lamb to the slaughter. They threatened to kill him if he continued to prophesy in the name of Jehovah. But he escaped, and forsook his home and his inheritance (xii).

He, perhaps, then fled to the banks of the Euphrates, whence he continued to reproach the obstinacy of the people (xiii). He wept for their misfortunes and his own. He was an outcast; though he had neither borrowed nor lent money, yet every one cursed him (xv). But while he foretells their captivity, he also foretells their

return. He says, that then they will call God, not Jehovah who brought Israel from the land of Egypt, but Jehovah who brought them from the land of the North (xvi).

He afterwards preached in Jerusalem, and in Tophet in the neighbourhood (xix). Once, on coming into the city to preach, Pashur, the priest of the temple, heard him, and put him into the stocks at one of the temple gates, called the high gate of Benjamin. But he was released the next day. He then prophesies that Pashur and all his house will be carried captive to Babylon (xx, *continued at xxv*).

In the first year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar [B.C. 605], Jeremiah more exactly prophesies that Judah will be made captive and serve the king of Babylon for seventy years, after which the Chaldees will themselves be overthrown (xxv). For thus foretelling ruin to his country, and that Jerusalem would be desolate like Shiloh, the priests accuse him before the princes of the people as worthy of death. But he is saved by Ahikam (xxvi, *continued at xxxv*).

When Nebuchadnezzar entered the country in his march against King Jehoiakim, among others who fled to Jerusalem for safety was a body of men called Rechabites, who dwelt in tents without tilling the soil, and who drank no wine. Jeremiah praises them for their obedience to the religious customs of their race, and promises them that, when the disobedient people of Jerusalem are cut off, they shall be spared (xxxv).

For thus threatening the people and the rulers, Jeremiah was put in prison. He there employed Baruch as a scribe to write down for him in a book what he wished to preach to the people; and he sent Baruch to read it on a fast-day at the temple gate. But the king sent for the book and had it burned; and he would have seized Baruch and Jeremiah, but the rulers let them escape. Baruch continued with Jeremiah, and again wrote down for him what had been burned, together with other prophesies (xxxvi).

Among the prophesies then written down by Baruch

were probably those about the foreign nations, from chap. xlv to xlix, 33. The first is against the Egyptian army, under Pharaoh Necho, which was defeated at Carchemish, on the Euphrates, by Nebuchadnezzar, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, B.C. 608. The next is on the intended invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar (xlvi). The third is against Gaza and Askelon and the land of the Philistines; indeed, against the allies of Tyre and Sidon (xlvii). The fourth is against Moab, who shall be ashamed of their idols (xlviii). The fifth is against the land of Ammon; the sixth against Edom, from Teman to Dedan; the seventh against Damascus; and the last against Kedar and Hazor, in Arabia (xlix, 33).

When Zedekiah came to the throne [B.C. 600] and was threatened by the Chaldee invasion, he sent to Jeremiah, and asked him to inquire of Jehovah as to the event of the war. But the prophet gives him a terrible answer—that God will fight against him, and deliver into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar all that escape the famine and the sword (xxi). Jeremiah goes to the palace, and tells the king to do justly, or his house shall be overthrown. Shallum, or Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, who has been carried into Egypt, will not be allowed to return. Josiah was a just ruler; but Jehoiakim will die unlamented. Coniah, or Jeconiah, his son, [who is called Jehoiachin in 2 Kings xxiv] will be taken captive to Babylon (xxii). Jeremiah then threatens the rulers of the people and the prophets, and reproaches them with their evil doings. He tells the people not to listen to the prophets; but God hereafter will raise righteous shepherds, and a branch of the house of David, a king under whom Judah shall be saved and Israel dwell in peace (xxiii). He has a vision of good figs and bad figs, and is told that Jeconiah, and those who have been carried off to Babylon, are better, and will fare better, than Zedekiah and those who are left in Judea, and those that flee into Egypt (xxiv, *continued at xxvii*). He strongly urges that the nation should submit quietly to the king of Babylon. God had given them and the neighbouring nations into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar;

and those are false prophets who say that the captivity will be over shortly (xxvii). In the fourth year of the reign, Hananiah of Gibeon prophesies to the people, that within two years the captives shall be brought back from Babylon. Jeremiah tells him he wishes it might be so, but it is not true (xxviii). And he then writes a letter to the elders and people in captivity, telling them that it is God's wish that they should build houses, and plant gardens, and live quietly in Babylon; for seventy years must be completed before the return (xxix). Nevertheless, he says, they will hereafter be brought back home, and the city will be inhabited as of old (xxx, xxxi, *continued at* xlix, 34) Persia will be scattered to the four winds, and Babylon will be conquered by the Medes (xlix, l, li).

In the tenth year of Zedekiah, [B.C. 591] the eighteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, when the Chaldee army was besieging Jerusalem, and Jeremiah was in prison as a traitor for his advice to submit to Nebuchadnezzar, his cousin offers to sell him the family farm at Anathoth. It was then in the hands of the enemy; but Jeremiah bought the farm in full trust that one day the kingdom would be delivered from the enemy to whom he was then advising them to submit (xxxii). And from his prison he declares, that hereafter Jerusalem will be restored, and there shall never be wanting a king from the house of David to sit upon the throne, with priests and Levites to offer burnt-offerings in the temple (xxxiii).

He tells King Zedekiah that the Chaldees will be successful and carry him away as a prisoner. The king then made a proclamation in his distress that all the Hebrew slaves shall be set free. But the princes did not set them free, whereupon Jeremiah tells them they will be given up to sword and pestilence and famine (xxxiv, *continued at* xxxvii).

When Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, sent an army to the relief of Jerusalem, the Chaldees retire; but Jeremiah says that it is only for a time, and that they will burn the city. He goes forth, however, when the

besieged open the gates, to take possession of the inheritance which he had bought at Anathoth; but a captain of the guard puts him in prison on suspicion of his intending to desert to the Chaldees (xxxvii). He is then let down by cords into the dungeon-keep of the prison to perish, but is saved by the Ethiopian eunuch, and he repeats to the king in private his advice to give himself up to the Chaldees (xxxviii). Jerusalem is then taken by Nebuchadnezzar [B. C. 588]; Zedekiah attempts to escape, but his eyes are put out, and his sons are slain (xxxix). Jeremiah has leave given him by the conqueror to go free to Babylon, or to remain in Jerusalem with the few that are left under the command of the Chaldee governor; and he chooses to remain (xl).

Shortly afterwards, Johanan and a few others rebelled against the Chaldees (xli). They applied to Jeremiah to learn from him God's will as to what they shall do; whether they shall be able to resist their oppressors, or whether they should flee into Egypt. Jeremiah told them that if they went into Egypt they would perish, but if they stayed at home they would be successful in their struggle against the foreign governor of Judea, and be safe (xlii). But they did not believe him. They before thought him a traitor when he advised submission to Nebuchadnezzar, and they now think him a traitor when he advises them to resist. So Johanan retreats into Egypt, and carries Jeremiah prisoner with him. And at Tahpanhes or Daphnæ, the first Egyptian town they come to, Jeremiah prophesies that Egypt will be defeated by Nebuchadnezzar (xliii). He afterwards adds that Hophra, king of Egypt, will be given up to his enemies, as Zedekiah had been given up to Nebuchadnezzar (xliv).

The last chapter (lii) is an account of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, taken word for word from the end of the Second Book of Kings, beginning at xxiv, 18.

[Jeremiah quotes the Book of Deuteronomy, as mentioned at page 35. He also three times quotes the

Book of Leviticus, "I will be your God, and ye shall be my people" (Lev. xxvi, 12; Jer. vii, 23, xi, 4, xxx, 22). But as he says that on the march out of Egypt, the Lord gave no command about burnt-offerings and sacrifices (vii, 22), he must have thought that much of the Pentateuch was not of the age of Moses. He also quotes from the history of the creation in the Book of Genesis at chap. iv, 23.

The lament for Moab in chap. xlviii, is borrowed from Isaiah xvi.

There are some additions to Jeremiah which bear marks of a later age than when he was alive. Such is the prophecy in chap. xxv, 11-14, which foretells the end of the captivity in seventy years, and the downfall of Babylon, and which interrupts and contradicts the prophecy that Babylon shall conquer Judah, and Egypt, and Persia, and Media. Such also are the words in chap. xxix, 10-14, which contain the same prophecy, and interrupt the blame on the false prophets who encourage the Israelites to resist the Babylonians. Such also is chap. xxxiii, which again fixes that the return from captivity is to take place after seventy years. These additions seem to belong to the age of Darius. The latter in particular has some thoughts like those in Zechariah, the son of Barachiah, who was then writing.]

The LAMENTATIONS of Jeremiah are mournful poems on the conquest of his country and on his own misfortunes. They may have been written while he was living in Egypt. They are more regular and finished than his other writings. In the first and second chapters the verses are of three lines each, in the third chapter of two lines each, in the fourth chapter of four lines each, and in the fifth chapter they are of two lines each.

These poems are also alphabetical, or so written that every verse begins with a letter of the alphabet. Thus chaps. i, ii, and iv have each 22 verses, while chap. iii has three times that number of verses. Chap. v is not alphabetical, but it has the same number of verses, one

for each letter, though not so marked. Some of the Psalms, which are also alphabetical, were probably written in the time of Jeremiah.

A Book of Lamentations, including those by Jeremiah, is spoken of in 2 Chron. xxxv, 25. Jeremiah is also quoted in 2 Chron. xxxvi, 21.

ON THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL.

IN the fifth year of the captivity of the Jews (B. C. 595), while living in the land of the Chaldees, by the river Chebar in Mesopotamia, Ezekiel sees a vision. There are four living creatures with four faces and four wings each. Above them, Jehovah is sitting on a throne. Jehovah calls him Son of Man, and sends him as a prophet to the Jews living in captivity, and gives him a book-roll to swallow (i). He is to take a tile to represent Jerusalem, and to lay siege to it. He is to shave his head, and burn one-third part of his hair, and smite a third part with the sword, and scatter a third part to the winds. So it is to be with the Israelites, because they kept not the commandments (v). He is ordered to prophesy the slaughter, and pestilence, and famine which are to fall on the land, and the scattering of the people (vii).

In the sixth year (B. C. 594), he sees a vision of the idolatry of Jerusalem; idols in the very temple; women there lamenting for the Syrian god Thaumuz. He is ordered to prophesy the punishment of the city (ix). He there sees the four cherubs and Jehovah, as he saw them in Chaldæa. Jehovah tells him that, though he will scatter the people, he will guard them in their captivity (xi). He says that the king, meaning Zedekiah, will be taken prisoner, have his eyes put out, and die blind and in fetters in Babylon (xii, 13). And the people shall be scattered. Though visions have often failed, this shall not fail (xii).

He denounces the false prophets and those who set

up idols. The land has sinned, so that if Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, their righteousness should only save themselves. But in mercy a remnant shall be spared (xiv).

As a vine that is unfruitful, so Jerusalem shall be burnt (xv). The idolatry of Jerusalem is described as adultery with Egypt, Assyria, Canaan, and Chaldæa. Samaria was not half so sinful (xvi).

The prophet tells a parable, which he afterwards explains, of an eagle, the king of Babylon, who plants a vine, King Zedekiah. This vine leans towards another eagle, the king of Egypt. But the king of Egypt shall be of no use to him, and Zedekiah shall be carried prisoner to Babylon (xvii).

He defends God's justice, in answer to the proverb, that the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and therefore the children's teeth are set on edge (xviii).

He compares Jerusalem to a lioness with whelps. One young lion, perhaps Jehoahaz, is brought with a nose-ring to Egypt. So a second young lion, perhaps Jehoiachin, is put in his place. But he is taken with a nose-ring in a cage to Babylon (xix).

In the seventh year (B. C. 593), he relates the old rebellions of the people in Egypt, in the desert and in the promised land; and how they were spared. He adds that now also God will not deal with them according to their evil ways, but spare them for his name's sake (xx, 44).

He prophesies that the king of Babylon will come down against the Ammonites, and against Judah. Jerusalem shall be utterly destroyed; it shall be no more, until He come to whom judgment belongeth, and to whom God will give it (xxi).

He describes the sins and unrighteousness of the people, and the ruin which comes upon them as a punishment (xxii).

Samaria and Judah are compared to two lewd women. Samaria dotes on the Assyrians, and is therefore delivered up into their hands. For the same reason, Judah is delivered into the power of the Chaldees. They

shall both be stoned to death as a punishment. (xxiii).

In the ninth year (B.C. 591), he relates that the king of Babylon marches against Jerusalem, and the city shall be burnt, as an impure vessel is purified in the fire (xxiv). And the Ammonites shall be cut off, because they rejoiced when the temple was profaned. For the same reason, Moab shall be given up to the sons of the East. Edom shall be desolate from Teman to Dedan, because they were revengeful against Judah; and the remnant of the Philistines shall be cut off on the sea-coasts (xxv).

In the eleventh year (B.C. 589), he relates that because Tyre laughed at the misfortunes of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, shall come against it with horses and chariots. He shall destroy the walls, and break down the towers, and make Tyre like a naked rock, for fishers to spread their nets on (xxvi). The planks of the Tyrian ships were of cypresses from Mount Hermon, the masts of cedars from Lebanon, the oars of oaks from Bashan, the benches of ivory and cedar from the Chittians, the sails of linen from Egypt. Their trade was with Tarsus and Greece, and Syria, and Arabia. But they shall be ruined, and Tyre be a desolation for ever (xxviii, 19). And Sidon shall be humbled (xxviii).

In the tenth year (B.C. 590), he prophesies against Egypt. Pharaoh, the great crocodile, shall be pulled out of his river by a hook, and left to die in the desert, because the Egyptians did not save the house of Israel. Egypt shall be waste from Migdol to Syene on the borders of Ethiopia. After forty years, the Egyptians shall be brought back, but be a mean kingdom (xxix, 16).

In the twenty-seventh year (B.C. 573), he adds: Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, has conquered Tyre; and God will give him the land of Egypt as wages for his army. The images shall be destroyed in Memphis. Upper Egypt shall be laid waste. Tanis shall be burned, and Thebes punished. Aven and Bubastis

shall fall by the sword, and at Tahpanhes shall the day be darkened (xxx, 19).

[Aven, *vanity, idolatry*, is probably a nickname for the city of On, formed in Hebrew by the addition of a single letter, and given to it by the Hebrews because the Greek Jews of Lower Egypt had there set up an altar to the Lord to save them from the duty of going up to the Temple of Jerusalem at the great feasts. See Isaiah xix, 18, who calls it the City of Destruction. Afterwards under the Ptolemies, the Egyptian Jews built a temple in the same city, then called Onion, and to shield themselves from the blame of the two prophets, altered the reading in Isaiah, from the City of Destruction to the City of Righteousness, and said that Aven and On were not Onion but Heliopolis.

Tape-Hanes, called Daphnæ by the Greeks, is the City of Hanes. See Isaiah xxx, 4.]

In the eleventh and twelfth years, he also prophesies against Egypt that it will be conquered by Babylon. Assyria has been overthrown; Elam has fallen by the sword; Armenia and Iberia are slain; Edom is slain; Sidon is slain; and Pharaoh also and his army shall be slain by the sword (xxxii).

The prophet is to tell the people that the wicked who turn from their evil ways shall live, and the righteous who do wrong shall die. And in the twelfth year he tells those who remain in Judea that the land shall be laid waste (xxxiii); that the rulers are unjust; but hereafter God will recall the scattered flock, and again feed them on the mountains of Israel. God will raise up a new David as a prince or ruler over them. They shall no more be a prey to the nations, but dwell in safety (xxxiv).

The Edomites are to be punished because they were the enemies of the Israelites in the time of their calamity (xxxv). But Israel shall be multiplied, the cities shall be inhabited, and the ruined places rebuilt. God will cleanse the people from idolatry, not for their own sakes, but for his holy name (xxxvi). The dry bones of Israel will come together, bone to bone, skin will grow upon

them, and God will breathe life into them, to people the land. So shall the tribes be united, not into two kingdoms, but into one kingdom, and David shall be their prince for ever (xxxvii).

The prophet is ordered to pass sentence on the Scythians, whose leader he styles Gog, of the land of Magog. These fierce rovers were overrunning the land of Judah. Many of them were on horses, with shields and swords. Persians, Ethiopians, and Libyans were with them. They plundered the unarmed villages of the cattle and goods. But after marching to the south, they turned northward along the coast, where they were routed, and perished by the way of the sea (xxxix).

In the twenty-fifth year of the captivity (B.C. 575), the prophet, to keep alive in his countrymen the hope and the wish to return, describes at great length, through the last nine chapters, the manner in which the temple is to be rebuilt and consecrated, the altars, the ceremonies, the festivals, and the fountains, and the new division of the land among the people (xlvi).

[Ezekiel's style of imagery is very peculiar, and was perhaps gained from the place of his captivity. In force and in poetic beauty, he falls far short of the older Hebrew prophets. In chaps. xvi, and xxiii, he is unpardonably gross, and his images prove the low state of society in which he was living. His faith is strong in the restoration of the kingdom, and in the coming of a second David to rule over Israel for ever. And every blessing that he wished for the people, he only hoped for as a reward for their obedience to God. He was writing in captivity in Mesopotamia at the same time that Jeremiah was writing under still greater hardships at home.]

ON THE BOOK OF OBADIAH.

THE prophet threatens that the nations shall arise against Edom. Though she dwells in the clefts of the rock, and her habitation is on high with the eagle, she shall be brought low. The city of Teman shall be destroyed, and every one cut off from the mountain of Esau. For the Edomites rejoiced when Jerusalem was conquered and the people taken captive. They stopped those who would have escaped, and delivered them up to the enemy. But the house of Jacob shall regain its possessions, and the house of Esau be burnt like stubble. The men of Judah shall hold the mountain of Esau, and Philistia, and Samaria; and the men of Benjamin shall hold Gilead. And the captives shall return to Mount Zion.

[This is nearly the same as chaps, xxv and xxxvi of Ezekiel, and the first nine verses are made use of in Jeremiah xlix, so that we may safely consider them as written at the same time, about B.C. 575. The city of Petra is well described as a cleft in the rock. It was through this part of Edom that Moses sent the spies, but was himself and his followers forbidden to pass. See Numb. xiii and xx.]

ON THE BOOK OF JONAH.

THE prophet Jonah lived in the reign of Jeroboam II., about B.C. 825, and is mentioned in 2 Kings xiv, 25. This book, by an unknown author, purports to be the history of some circumstances in his life.

The Lord tells Jonah to go to Nineveh to prophesy against it for its wickedness. He hastens from the Lord to Joppa, and thence sails by ship for Tarsus. While on the voyage, a great storm arises, and he is thrown overboard by the mariners, as the cause of the evil which is coming upon them. He is not drowned,

but is saved by being swallowed by a great fish. In the fish's belly he prays to God, and after three days he is thrown out on dry land. He then goes on to Nineveh to prophesy against it, and tells the people that in forty days the city shall be overthrown. The king and people of Nineveh then humble themselves in sackcloth and ashes; and God forgives them for their repentance, and spares them. Jonah thereon leaves the city in anger against God, and rests under the shade of a gourd. When the sun rises the gourd withers, and Jonah's grief is increased. Then the Lord says to him; You pitied the gourd, though you neither planted it nor made it grow, and shall I not pity the helpless people of Nineveh?

[This is the only one of the books called Prophetic that contains no prophecy. It is a moral tale, and is not to be taken for a true story. It was written to teach the Jews that they were not the only people cared for by God; and that the heathen nations also, if they repented of their wickedness, would be forgiven and spared. Its date is very uncertain. But it quotes not only the Book of Joel, ii, 13, 14, but also Psalm lxix, 1, which was written during the captivity, and in all probability by a companion of Jeremiah in Egypt. Hence the Book of Jonah cannot be older than the year B.C. 600. It has no great literary merit. But no other Hebrew book shows a kinder feeling towards the nation's enemies.]

Jonah's voyage seems to have been an act of disobedience; but if he chose it as part of his route from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem to Nineveh, though seemingly round about, he may have meant to save himself fatigue, as its ease would make up for the increased distance. To avoid the desert on the east of Palestine it was necessary for a traveller to go as far north as where the valley of the Euphrates almost joins the valley of the Orontes; and the coasting vessel in which he sailed would have been able to drop him near the mouth of the Orontes, if no accident had happened. From thence to Nineveh was a well-trodden route.]

ON THE BOOK OF HAGGAI.

HAGGAI wrote in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, king of Persia, B.C. 520, when Zerubbabel was governor of Judea under the Persians, and Joshua was high-priest of Jerusalem. The Jews were then rebuilding their temple by permission of Darius. They had received the same permission from Cyrus sixteen years before, when they returned home from captivity, but had been hitherto interrupted by the foreigners and others whom they then found living in Jerusalem, and who were enemies to the undertaking. (*See Ezra, iv, v*). The burthen of Haggai's writing is to encourage the nation in this pious work of building the house for the Lord.

Is it right to dwell in roofed houses while the temple lies in ruins? Consider how it goeth with you. Nothing now prospers. Go to the mountain, and bring wood, and build. For the land is less fruitful while the temple is unbuilt.

Then the governor and the high-priest and the people begin to work upon the temple on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month (i).

On the twenty-first day of the seventh month, Haggai reminds those who had seen the former temple of its glory. Now it is as nothing. But work, and God will be with you. In a short time all the nations shall send presents of silver and gold, and the glory of this latter temple shall be greater than that of the former (ii, 9).

On the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, Haggai calls upon the people to remark that during this delay, from the day when the new foundation was laid till now, the land has been suffering from famine; the vine, the fig-tree, and the olive-tree, have not borne. But henceforth the people shall prosper (ii, 19).

Again, on the same day, Haggai tells Zerubbabel, the governor, that though kingdoms shall be overthrown,

and armies destroyed, the Lord will guard him as his chosen servant (ii).

[Haggai writes with but little poetry or energy. The captivity was at an end, but yet the nation was not free. Its zeal could only work as far as allowed by the edicts from Persia. The sufferings which threw a melancholy feeling into Jeremiah's poetry were over. The return from Babylon, which warmed up the latter chapters of Isaiah with pious hope, was past. But yet the nation was not free. Haggai's promises rise no higher than that foreign Jews shall send ornaments to the temple, and that Prince Zerubbabel shall be God's chosen servant.]

ON THE BOOK OF ZECHARIAH.

PART I.

Chap. i-viii, *by Zechariah, the Son of Barachiah.*—Zechariah wrote nearly at the same time as Haggai, and under nearly the same circumstances.

In the eighth month in the second year of Darius's reign, the prophet calls upon the people not to be like their fathers, who would not listen to the warnings of the prophets, and who were punished (i, 6).

On the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month he sees a vision of a man on a red horse, followed by other horses, red, spotted, and white. An angel tells him to proclaim that the Lord is now friendly to Jerusalem and displeased with the nations; the temple shall be built and Judea overflow with prosperity (i, 17). He then sees four horns; and the angel tells him that they are the horns that have scattered Israel (i, 21).

He then sees a man with a measuring-line, measuring the city for the builders. An angel says it is to have no walls, as the Lord will guard it. He calls upon Zion to rejoice, and all flesh to be silent before Jehovah. (ii).

He sees the high-priest Joshua standing before

Jehovah, and Satan standing beside him to accuse him. Jehovah rebukes Satan, and says that Joshua is a brand plucked out of the fire. The angel orders Joshua to be clothed with a mitre and new garments. He tells Joshua that if he walks in the way of the Lord, the Lord will send his servant the Branch, and the land shall be pure and prosperous (iii).

The angel then shows him a lampstand with seven lamps on it, and an olive-tree on each side of it, feeding the lamps with oil. The olive-trees are explained to mean the two anointed ones, probably Zerubbabel and Joshua (iv).

The prophet then sees a book-roll flying through the air, twenty cubits long. On it is written the curse upon those who do wrong. He sees a vessel closed with a lid weighing a talent. The lid is lifted up, and within is seen Wickedness in the form of a woman sitting. The lid is shut down again, and two women with wings carry away the vessel with Wickedness in it, into the land of Babylon (v).

The prophet sees four chariots. One has red horses. A second with black horses, and a third with white horses, execute judgment in the north country. The fourth with spotted horses goes into the south country (vi, 8). [The north country is probably Assyria and Babylon, whose armies always entered Palestine from the north; and the south country is Egypt.]

The Lord tells the prophet to take silver and gold from those who have returned home from captivity, and make a crown, and put it on the head of the high-priest Joshua. He is then to say, Behold the man whose name is the Branch. He shall build the temple and rule in peace. And this shall come to pass if you obey your God (vi).

In the fourth year of Darius, B.C. 518, Jehovah charges the prophet to tell the people to be just and merciful to the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, and He will dwell in Jerusalem, and Zion shall be a holy mountain. The men shall live to be old; children shall play in the streets. The solemn fasts shall be

joyful festivals, if they love truth and peace. The Gentiles will learn from the Jews, for they will see that God is with them (viii).

[Zechariah, like the writer of the Book of Job, speaks of Satan as an angel who accused men before Jehovah. This opinion the Jews may have learnt from Chaldea in their captivity. Thence also the writer of Job may have received it, as he lived to the east of Judea.

In speaking of the servant of the Lord to be named the Branch, we see that Zechariah had read Isaiah, or Jeremiah, or both. In one place he says that the high-priest, who was then building the temple, is the Branch. But in another place he speaks of the Branch as a prophet yet to appear. Most interesting is the prophecy with which the eighth chapter ends, that in the latter days all the nations of the earth will look to the Jews as their teachers in religion.

These chapters were written in B.C. 520 and B.C. 518; and their purport agrees with these dates. The people had returned to Jerusalem from their captivity, and were rebuilding the temple, but were not allowed to fortify the city. The following chapters are of a far earlier date.]

PART II.

The latter chapters of this book are of an older date than the first eight, and as we know of four or five prophets of the name of Zechariah, it is not improbable that we here have the writings of more than one of them. The first Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, prophesied in the reign of Joash, and was stoned in the temple by the king's orders in the year B.C. 826 (2 Chron., xxiv, 20). A second Zechariah was the wise adviser of King Uzziah, between B.C. 811 and B.C. 760 (2 Chron., xxvi, 5). A third Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah, is mentioned by Isaiah in the reign of Ahaz (Isaiah viii, 2), though it is possible that this may be the same person as the former. A fourth Zechariah was a ruler in the temple in the reign of Josiah (2 Chron., xxxv, 8). And, fifthly, we have Zechariah,

the son of Barachiah, the author of the first eight chapters. The contents of the following prophecies make it not improbable that chapters ix and x were written by the third-mentioned Zechariah, in the reign of Ahaz; chapter xi by the second-mentioned Zechariah, in the reign of Uzziah; and chapters xii, xiii, and xiv, by the fourth-mentioned Zechariah, soon after the reign of Josiah.

CHAP. ix and x, *by Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah.*—The sentence against the land of Hadrach, and Syria, and Tyre, and Sidon. The power of Tyre shall be broken; Gaza shall tremble; Askelon shall not be inhabited; strangers shall dwell in Ashdod; the Philistines shall be humbled. God will guard Jerusalem; oppressors shall no more pass through it. The king comes, victorious and just, riding upon an ass. The chariot, and horse, and battle-bow, of the foreigners shall be broken. He shall speak peace to the nations, and the prisoners shall be set free. Judah and Ephraim will defend themselves against Greece. God's people shall be prosperous (ix).

Pray to Jehovah for blessings. The Teraphim and the diviners are false; their consolations are vain. Judah shall tread down the enemy; Ephraim shall be as a mighty man. They shall be redeemed, and as numerous as before. Though scattered, they shall remember their God. From Egypt and from Assyria they shall be brought back. The pride of Assyria shall be brought down, and the sceptre shall depart from Egypt.

[This must have been written at the same time with Isaiah ix, x, xi. (About B.C. 710). We have the same hopes and fears for the nation. The same enemies are threatened; a peaceful king is promised, and the return of the outcasts from Egypt and Assyria.]

CHAP. xi, *by Zechariah, a Prophet in the reign of Uzziah.*—The cedars of Lebanon and the oaks of Bashan shall be burnt. The pride of the Jordan is destroyed. The owners slay the flock, the shepherds spare them not. They shall be delivered to their king to be smitten.

The prophet says that he has cut off three shepherds in one month, for he was weary of them, and they abhorred him. He breaks his staff to show that he will break the covenant that he had made with the people. He asks for his wages, and they give him thirty pieces of silver, which he casts into the House of the Lord, into the mint. He breaks his other staff, to break the alliance between Israel and Judah. God will raise up a wicked shepherd, who will not care for the perishing flock, but eat them to the very hoofs.

[The prophet here is wholly addressing the kingdom of Israel. The three wicked shepherds are probably Jeroboam II., Zachariah, and Shallum, kings of Israel, who all died within seven months, in the year B.C. 773 (2 Kings xv, 8, 14). The fourth shepherd is their successor, Menahem, who raised heavy sums of money from the people to pay to the Assyrians. The alliance between Israel and Judah was shortly afterwards broken; and in the year B.C. 743, Israel invaded Judah, (2 Kings xvi, 5). This chapter was, therefore, probably written about the year B.C. 770. The prophet seems to have removed from Samaria to live in Jerusalem; and the wages given to him on parting were the price of a slave, as fixed by law in Exodus xxi, 32.]

CHAP. xii, xiii, xiv, *by Zechariah, a ruler of the Temple under King Josiah.*—Jerusalem shall be besieged, but it shall be a stumbling-block to those who come against it. Nations will gather themselves against it, but they shall be struck with blindness. Jehovah will defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The people will turn to God in prayer and in mourning, as in the valley of Megiddo (xii). The idols shall be cut off from the land. The people will persecute the prophets, and the prophets will deny that they are prophets. Two-thirds of the people shall be cut off; and one-third shall be tried like gold in the fire (xiii). Jerusalem shall be taken: one half of the people shall go into captivity, and the other half shall be left. But in that day Jehovah will fight against the nations, and be King over all the earth. Jerusalem shall remain secure (xiv, 11).

There shall be war among the nations, which fought against Jerusalem. All the people who have been spared by the nations shall go up every year to Jerusalem to worship and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles. And if any do not go up to keep the feast, they shall have no rain.

[This must have been written soon after the mournful battle of Megiddo, where the Assyrians and Josiah, king of Judah, were defeated by Necho, king of Egypt, in the year B.C. 611, and perhaps after the conquest of Jerusalem in the year B.C. 600, and before the last carrying away of the captives in the year B.C. 588.]

ON THE BOOK OF MALACHI.

HISTORY tells us that in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 433), Nehemiah came a second time from Babylon as governor of Jerusalem. The new temple had been some time finished, and he then corrected several abuses. He ordered that the tithes should be paid more regularly to the Levites. He made the Levites put away their foreign wives. He shut the gates of Jerusalem during the Sabbath against all who would bring merchandise into the city (Nehem. xiii). It was then that the prophecy of Malachi was written, and these circumstances are mentioned in it. Nehemiah has sometimes been considered as the author.

The prophet, in answer to the Jews, who in their troubles doubt God's goodness to them, shows them that their enemies the Edomites have suffered more. He blames the priests for bringing polluted food to the altar, and assures them that from the east to the west God's name will be great among the nations. He orders the people to obey the Levites. He rebukes those who worship idols, or have married idolatrous wives (i, ii). He says that Jehovah will come to judge and purify both the people and the Levites; and he will

send a messenger before his face, to prepare the way before him.

He says that the people have robbed God in not bringing in the tithes to the altar. He advises them to try Jehovah's justice, whether he will not pour out blessings upon them, if they bring in the tithes and offerings. He tells them that they will soon see the difference between the righteous and the wicked. For behold the day cometh that shall burn up the wicked like stubble, when the sun of salvation shall arise, and the righteous shall leap for joy. But before the day of Jehovah comes, the great and terrible day, he will send Elijah the prophet to turn the fathers to the children and the children to the fathers, that he may not have to curse the land (iii, iv).

[Malachi, the last of the prophets, argues with his readers, as if conversing with them. He has but little of poetry or loftiness of expression. He follows the older prophets in foretelling that God will come to judge the people, but adds for the first time, that before that great and terrible day he will send Elijah to them, to prepare the way by turning them from evil.]

ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

THE first part of this book is narrative, and contains an account of the prophet Daniel's life at Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar. The latter chapters contain several prophecies supposed to be delivered by the prophet. But it is the work of various unknown authors and of various times. Every part seems to have been written long after the time of Nebuchadnezzar; and the prophetic parts in particular were written later than the events which they profess to foretell, while the narrative contains many historic mis-statements. The several parts must be considered separately.

CHAP. i-vi.—In the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, B.C. 608, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon,

conquered Jerusalem, and carried away many of the nobles as captives. Among these were Daniel and three other righteous youths, named Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. God gave these young men wisdom and favour with Nebuchadnezzar; and they were ten times wiser than all the magians in the kingdom of Babylon (i). In the second year of Nebuchadnezzar the king dreamed a dream, which he forgot before he could tell it to the magians for their interpretation. Therefore, as the magians could neither interpret the king's dream nor tell him what it was, he published a decree that they should all be put to death. When Daniel and his companions were brought to be put to death with the other wise men of Babylon under this decree, Daniel said that he could tell the king his dream, and interpret it to him. He said that the king saw in his dream a great statue, of which the head was gold, the breast silver, the body and thighs brass, and the legs and feet iron mixed with clay; and this statue was broken by a stone not cut with hands. He explained that the gold meant the Babylonian monarchy; the silver, a second monarchy, which will be less powerful [namely, the Median]; the brass, a third kingdom, which will be over all the earth [namely, the Persian]; and the iron, a fourth and yet more powerful kingdom [namely, Alexander and his successors]. This, however, will be broken to pieces, because it is mixed with clay; but its parts will be united in marriage [in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus]. The stone not cut with hands is God's own kingdom, which will follow these, and last for ever. In consequence of this interpretation, Nebuchadnezzar acknowledged that Daniel's God was the God of gods, and the revealer of secrets. He made Daniel's three friends rulers over the affairs of the province of Babylon, and placed Daniel at the king's gate (ii).

Nebuchadnezzar then set up a golden statue, sixty cubits high, in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon. And he ordered all his prefects and officers to come together to its dedication, and all his people to worship this statue. Whoever will not worship this

statue is to be thrown into a fiery furnace. Upon this, Daniel's three friends, true to their own religion, refused to worship the statue, and were thrown alive into the furnace. But the fire did not burn them; and they were seen walking about in it with an angel of the Lord, who saved them from death. Then Nebuchadnezzar made a decree that all his people should worship the God of the Jews, and he promoted Daniel's three friends in the province of Babylon (iii).

Nebuchadnezzar, in a public decree, declared what the Most High God had done for him. In his dream he had seen a lofty tree. The birds dwelt in its boughs, and the beasts found shadow under it. But a holy one from heaven declared that it should be cut down, and, speaking of it as a man, added, that his heart shall no longer be that of a man, but that of a beast. This dream Daniel explained. The great tree was the king himself, whose power was unlimited. But he is to lose his reason, to become as a beast in the field, to teach him to own God's power. Accordingly, while Nebuchadnezzar was boasting of his capital and his power, he was changed in form, he became covered with feathers like a bird, his nails became claws, and he ate grass like oxen. When his reason returned, he owned God's power, and published this decree to his praise and honour (iv).

When Belshazzar, the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, was one day giving a grand feast in his palace, to a thousand of his nobles, and they were all drinking wine, and praising the idols, the gods of their country, there appeared in the room a hand, and it wrote on the wall four mysterious words. The king was of course greatly moved with fright, and he sent for the wise men of Babylon to explain it to him. He declared that whoever could read this writing should have the third rank in his kingdom. None were able to read it. The queen then advised the king to send for Daniel, the captive Jew, who had been made by the late king master of the magians. Daniel was sent for, and Belshazzar told him that if he could explain this frightful

writing, he should be the third ruler in the kingdom. Daniel refused the offered reward, but explained the writing to mean that God had put an end to the Babylonian monarchy, and divided the kingdom, and given it to the Medes and Persians. And in that very night Belshazzar, the last Chaldee king, was slain, and Darius the Mede [that is, Cyaxares] took the kingdom (v).

Darius set over his kingdom one hundred and twenty satraps, of whom Daniel was made the chief, because of his wisdom. The other satraps were jealous of him because he was a Jew. But as no fault could be found with him, to ruin him, they asked Darius to make a decree that whoever should pray to any god or man for the next thirty days, except to the king himself, should be thrown into the den of lions. The decree was made. But Daniel continued as before to open his window towards Jerusalem three times a day, and to pray and give thanks to God. For this disobedience he was thrown into the lions' den, though much to the king's grief. But God shut the lions' mouths, so that they did not hurt Daniel; and next day he was taken out of the den safe. And Darius made a decree that his people should worship no other god but the God of Daniel, who had saved him from the power of the lions. And Daniel was in prosperity through the reign of Darius the Mede, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian (vi).

[The history of Daniel in the lions' den, and of his three friends in the fiery furnace, is mentioned in 1 Maccabees ii, 59, 60.]

Chap. vii.—In the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, Daniel had a dream. He saw four great beasts come up from the sea. The first was like a lion with eagles' wings. The second was like a bear with three ribs in its mouth. The third was like a leopard with four wings and four heads. The fourth was great and terrible. It had iron teeth and ten horns. And another little horn came up, before which three of the first horns were plucked up. Then there was an Aged

Person seated on a throne, before whom stood ten thousand times ten thousand, while thousands of thousands ministered to him. The horns spake great words against him; but the beast was slain and thrown into the fire. And one like a Son of Man came with clouds to the Aged Person, and to him was given a kingdom over all the world for ever.

Then Daniel asked the interpretation of this from one who stood near; and was told that the four beasts were four kings [namely, the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Greek]: after which the saints of the Most High would possess the kingdom for ever. The ten horns were ten kings [namely, Antigonus and Demetrius of Syria; Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus, Euergetes, Philopator, Epiphanes, and Philometor, of Egypt; Antiochus the Great, and Seleucus of Syria]. The small horn before whom three fell [namely, Antiochus Epiphanes, who conquered Seleucus, Demetrius his son, and Ptolemy Philometor], is to make war against the saints [of Jerusalem] until the Most High establishes his everlasting kingdom.

Chap. viii.—In the third year of Belshazzar, Daniel saw another vision. He saw a ram with two horns [namely, the Median and Persian kingdoms], and the higher of the two horns [namely, the Persian] came up last. Then a he-goat [namely, the Macedonian power] came from the west, and he cast down the ram and trampled on him. The he-goat had one great horn [namely, Alexander the Great]; and when this was broken there grew up in its place four others [namely, the kings of Macedonia, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Babylon]. Out of one of these came forth a small horn [namely, Antiochus Epiphanes], who became very great against the south and the east and Judea; and he magnified himself with impiety against the Prince of the host [namely, God himself].

Chap. ix.—In the first year of Darius the Mede, Daniel considered the prophecy of Jeremiah, that Jerusalem should be in ruins for seventy years, and prayed to God on behalf of the temple. He is then told by the

angel Gabriel that seventy weeks [or 490 years] are appointed to the people to fill up the measure of their sins, to expiate their guilt, and to bring back the righteousness of former times.

It is explained that from the going forth of the command that Jerusalem should again be built [that is, from the first year of Cyrus, B.C. 535], to an anointed prince, are seven weeks [that is forty-nine years to Xerxes, who, in B.C. 486, came to the throne, and in the seventh year of his reign repeated the command]. Then after sixty-two weeks [or 434 years], the street and the wall shall be built again in troublous times [that is, to B.C. 53, when Hyrcanus begins to rebuild the walls that had been thrown down by Pompey. Josephus, Wars, 1, viii, 2.] The people of the prince that will come, will then establish a covenant with Many for one week [that is, the Romans will change the government of Judea into an aristocracy. See Josephus, Wars, 1, viii, 5,] and during half of this week the sacrifices are stopped. And the abominations of the destroyer [that is, the Roman ensigns] shall be upon the battlements until the appointed destruction is poured out on the destroyer.

Chap. x-xii.—In the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia, Daniel had a vision, which is true, and relates to long warfare. An angel appears to him who is going to fight against Persia. He says that he is the angel who had appeared in the first year of Darius the Mede (xi, 1, comp. ix, 22).

This angel tells him that there will yet be three kings of Persia [that is, three after Cyrus, namely, Cambyses, Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspes]. And the fourth will be far greater than all [namely, Xerxes]; he will fight against Greece. Then will a mighty king arise [namely, Alexander the Great]; and his kingdom will be divided to the four winds, and not to his posterity. The king of the south [namely, Ptolemy, king of Egypt] will be strong; but one of the princes will be stronger [namely, Antiochus, king of Syria]. And the daughter of the king of the south will come to the king of the north to make peace [namely, Berenice, daughter of Philadelphus,

who was married to Antiochus]; but she will not stand, nor her offspring [she and her children were put to death by her step-son]. But of her family will one arise with an army against the king of the north, and he will prevail [namely, Euergetes, who conquers Seleucus Callinicus]. He will carry into Egypt their statues and precious vessels. So the king of the south will come up against the king of the north, but he will return. But his sons [those of Syria] will be stirred up, and one of them [namely, Antiochus the Great] will invade. Afterwards he will give his daughter in marriage to ruin the land [that is, Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, is given to Ptolemy Epiphanes, to betray him]. But it shall not succeed [Cleopatra is true to her husband]. After this he will turn his face to the Isles, and conquer many [that is, Antiochus attacks Greece]. But a commander will put an end to his scorn [the Roman general Scipio stops his success]. He will fall and not be found (xi, 19).

Then will arise in his place an exactor of tribute through the glory of his kingdom [namely, Seleucus Philopator, who levies tribute on the temple. *See* 2 Maccab. iii, 7]. In his place will arise a despised person [namely, Antiochus Epiphanes], who will obtain the kingdom by flatteries [that is, by courting the Romans]. Forces will be overwhelmed before him, also the prince that is allied to him [namely, Ptolemy Philometor, his nephew, who is conquered by him.]

After a time he shall again go against the south, but unsuccessfully, for Chittian ships shall stop him [that is, his second invasion is stopped by the Romans]. From after attacks upon Egypt he will be called away by tidings out of the east and the north, which trouble him [that is, by the Parthian and Armenian war].

After this there will be trouble, such as never was before; and then the people will be delivered, at least such as are written in the book of life. Many of the dead will then arise, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting punishment (xii).

[It would thus seem that the greater part of the

Book of Daniel was written in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, about the year B.C. 165. Chap. ix. seems to have been written even one hundred years later. The arguments against the authenticity of the book from its style and tenor are overwhelming. Moreover, it contains Greek words, which could hardly have been used by one then living in Babylon. It quotes Jeremiah, who was only writing when Daniel is said to have lived. Daniel is mentioned by Ezekiel as an eminent man with Noah and Job, which contradicts this writer, who makes Daniel Ezekiel's junior by about twenty years. The book praises Daniel in a way that no writer ever speaks of himself. It speaks in chap. xii, 2, of the resurrection of the dead to judgment, which is not otherwise mentioned in the Old Testament. Verse 1 of chap. xi, is an after addition; as it refers to chap. ix, and particularly to verse 21; whereas chap. ix, was not written till one hundred years after this chap. xi. Moreover this verse speaks of Daniel in the third person while it forms part of a speech addressed to him.]

ON THE BOOKS OF THE APOCRYPHA.

THESE books form an addition to the Old Testament; but they are divided from the rest because they are not found in the Hebrew. Some were written in Greek, and some only in Latin. As in age, so in worth, they have little claim to rank with the old Hebrew writings. Some we can only consider as forgeries, others are trustworthy portions of history, and others contain good moral and religious thoughts. But even those which are most justly thrown aside as unworthy to form part of the Bible, are not without their worth, as specimens of Jewish writings of a later age, and they help us to understand the more valuable books.

ON THE FIRST BOOK OF ESDRAS.

THIS is a free and careless Greek translation of the Book of Ezra, with some additions, and several mistakes.

The chief additions are—chap. i, which is a sketch of the history of Judah from the reign of Josiah to the captivity, translated from the last two chapters of the Second Book of Chronicles; chap. iii-iv, an account of three young men at the court of Darius striving to excel one another in wise speeches; and chap. ix, 37-55, an account of the Feast of Tabernacles celebrated by Ezra, which is not in the Hebrew original, but which is found in Nehemiah vii, 73—viii, 12, as a quotation from Ezra.

As a mistake, we may notice the translator's not understanding the word "Tirshatha," *the governor* (Ezra ii, 63). In the copy which lay open before him we must suppose that the name of the governor was given, and that he should have read "Nehemiah the Tirshatha;" but he has rendered it in chap. v, 40, "Nehemias and Atherias." So when the word is again used in the sentence quoted by Nehemiah (viii, 9), and we read, "Nehemiah the Tirshatha, and Ezra said," the translator (ix, 49) renders it, "Attharates said unto Esdras."

ON THE SECOND BOOK OF ESDRAS.

THIS Second Book is wholly foreign from the first of the same name. It is known only in Latin, and was probably written in that language. The writer was a Christian Jew, and he wrote about the year 220 of the Christian era, soon after the death of the Emperor Caracalla. It is written in the form of a prophecy, supposed to be delivered by Ezra, who lived more than 600 years earlier. He describes a vision of an eagle with twelve feathered wings, and eight smaller feathers,

and three heads (xi). These he explains to mean Rome and its first twenty-three emperors. The twelve wings are the twelve Cæsars, of whom the second [Augustus] reigned longer than any of the rest (xii, 15). Of the three heads, one of them shall die upon his bed, and yet with pain [Septimius Severus]. Of the two that remain, the sword of one [Caracalla] shall devour the other [Geta]; and at the last he shall himself fall by the sword (xii, 28).

[In this way our author allows us to discover when he lived and wrote. But his political or religious aim is by no means clear. He shows his Christianity by mentioning Jesus Christ as dying that all men may have life (vii, 28-29). At the same time the whole tenor of the book, and its references to the Old Testament, prove that he was of the stock of Israel.

In chap. i, 30-33, this writer quotes some words from Matt. xxiii, 37-38, and in chap. iii, he uses several images borrowed from Revelation vii.]

ON THE BOOK OF TOBIT.

THIS is the history of a pious Israelite named Tobit, and of his son Tobias, who were carried away from their home when the northern tribes were conquered by the Assyrians under Shalmaneser, here called Emenessar. They were carried captive to Nineveh. There and in Media, Tobit lived in trouble during the reign of Sennacherib, the next king, doing good to all the poorer among the captive Israelites, giving alms, clothing the naked, and burying the dead. But upon Sennacherib's death Tobit's fortunes were rather improved, as his nephew held the high office of cupbearer to Esarhaddon, here called Sarchedon.

From Nineveh, Tobit sends his son Tobias back into Media to fetch a sum of money which he had there left; and Tobias, looking out for a guide, meets with

the angel Raphael, who offers to show him the way. On their journey Tobias catches a fish, and, by the advice of the angel, he saves the heart and liver; as, when burnt, their smoke will drive away a devil or evil spirit. By the advice also of the angel, he offers to marry a relation named Sara, whom he meets in Ecbatana, whose evil spirit had already killed seven husbands; and he drives away this evil spirit by means of the smoke of the fish's burnt heart and liver. So he stays with his new wife to keep the marriage feast of fourteen days, and sends the angel forward to fetch the money.

At the end of the fourteen days Tobias returns homeward towards his father and mother, bringing with him the angel who had been his faithful servant and guide, and his young wife, and the money he went for, and the property given to him by his father-in-law. When he arrives at home in safety, he offers to give one-half of all that he had brought with him to the angel as payment for his trouble; but his guide reveals himself, and says that he is Raphael, one of the seven holy angels who carry up the prayers of the saints to God, and that he had taken care of him in return for the piety shown to his poor brethren in burying the dead.

Tobias had six sons born to him in Nineveh. But when Tobit, his father, was old and near to die, he told Tobias to remember the words of the prophet Jonah, that Nineveh should be destroyed, and peace should rather be found in Media. So Tobit died, and Tobias withdrew into Ecbatana in Media, where he lived to see Nineveh conquered and destroyed by Nebuchodnosor and Asuerus.

[The Book of Tobit was written between the years B.C. 19, when the temple was rebuilt by Herod, and A.D. 70, when it was again destroyed by the Romans. This appears from its knowledge of history. Thus it tells us that the prophets had foretold the destruction of the first temple, and the captivity of the nation; the return from captivity, and the rebuilding of the temple less beautifully than before; and, lastly, a yet more

glorious building of the temple. This was the third temple as built by Herod.

The writer's knowledge of ancient history is not great, as he says that Tobias was born before the conquest of Israel by Shalmaneser (in the year B.C. 722), and that he lived to see the conquest of Nineveh (in B.C. 612). He may be right in saying that Nineveh was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, as that prince had acted as general to his father, Nabopolassar; but when he mentions King Asuerus, or Ahasuerus, he can only mean one of the kings of Persia who bore that name, the earliest of whom, Cambyses, reigned yet one hundred years later.]

ON THE BOOK OF JUDITH.

THE account of the murder of Holofernes by Judith, when the armies of Nebuchadnezzar were attacking Judea, is a feigned story unknown to history. It was probably written on a very late occasion, when the Jews were suffering under a similar invasion, to encourage them to make the resistance here described, and to urge one of their countrywomen, in imitation of Judith's conduct, to attempt the assassination of the hostile general. The moral of it is, that if the governors of the besieged city continue their resistance, and refuse to yield, God will relieve them.

Nebuchadnezzar, after conquering Nineveh, and Media, and Asia Minor, and the coast of the Phœnicians, sends an army under the command of Holofernes against Judea. The Jews had lately returned home from captivity, and had purified their temple after its profanation. They retreat before the coming danger into the hill country around Jerusalem. Holofernes lays siege to a town named Bethulia. He encamps in the valley near the fountain; and by the advice of the Edomites and Moabites in his army, he is content with turning the siege into a blockade, and depriving the

city of all water. The inhabitants in their distress call upon the governors of the city to surrender, as death from starvation seems more terrible to them than the spears of the enemy. In this difficulty a young widow of the name of Judith seems the only person of courage within the walls; she tells the governors not to be afraid, but to trust in God and not to yield to the besiegers. She lays aside her widow's dress, and puts on her best and gayest garments, and ventures out of the city. Her beauty gains her admission to the tent of Holofernes; and in the night, when he is asleep, she cuts off his head with his own sword. The besieging army takes to flight in dismay, and the people of Israel are relieved from all further inroads of their enemies during the life of Judith, and for a long time after her death.

[That the invasion of Judea by Nebuchadnezzar should here be described as successfully resisted, and that he should be said to have lived after the Jews returned home from captivity, is the chief, but by no means the only, historical blunder. The mistakes in geography are equally marked. It is clearly a feigned story, written for a purpose which was, no doubt, to bring about the death of an invading general. Judith, the brave and beautiful widow, is meant for any young Jewess. If it was written in the year A.D. 66, Nebuchadnezzar is Nero; Holofernes is Vespasian, who commanded the Roman armies in Syria; and the city of Bethulia is one of the Jewish cities which bravely resisted his attacks. This is the more probable date of the book. But if it was written in A.D. 68, Nebuchadnezzar is Vespasian; Holofernes is his son and lieutenant, Titus; and Bethulia is Jerusalem, which Titus was then besieging. The book cannot be more modern, as it is quoted by Paul's friend, Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians.]

ON THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

THE time, the place, and the author of this work are alike unknown; but may in part be guessed from his opinions and his expressions. He was a Jew of the Alexandrian school, and seemingly a convert to Christianity. He teaches that God created man to be immortal (ii, 23). He shows his Egyptian opinions by praising an unmarried life (iii, 14), and by saying that God did not create death (i, 13). He further shows the place where he was writing by blaming the Egyptians throughout, and calling them the enemies, but without naming them. He hastily runs over many of the events in Jewish history without ever naming the persons. He calls Cain the unrighteous man; and Noah, Abraham, Lot, Jacob, and Joseph, are each in his turn, when spoken of, called the righteous man (x). But the righteous man described at greatest length we must believe to be meant for the crucified Jesus. He is reproached by unrighteous men with professing to have the knowledge of God, and calling himself the servant of the Lord (ii, 13). "His life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion. He maketh his boast that God is his father. Let us see if his words be true, and let us prove what will be his end. For if the righteous man be the son of God, He will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies. Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness and prove his patience. Let us condemn him with a shameful death, for by his own saying he shall be respected." Such things did they imagine and were deceived (ii, 21). But though the righteous man be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest. He pleased God, and was beloved by him, so that living among sinners he was translated (iv, 10).

When the writer says, "Blessed is the wood whereby righteousness cometh" (xiv, 7), he means as much the cross which saves sinners, as the ark which saved Noah

in the flood. The wood is spoken of with the same secondary meaning in the Epistle of Barnabas, chap. x, xi.

He may have written after the beginning of the Jewish war in the reign of Nero, as he says that God's people were crushed by their enemies (xv, 14). But nothing leads us to believe that the temple was already destroyed.

The writer was a Platonist in his philosophy, of the school called the Alexandrian; but which more probably took its rise in Heliopolis. The praise of God's Wisdom is in terms more befitting a person than those used in the Proverbs of Solomon; and it shows a train of thought which we trace through the Son of Sirach, and find as strongly marked in Philo. God's Word is also spoken of figuratively as a person. The Book of Genesis says, that at the creation the SPIRIT of God moved upon the face of the waters; and afterwards God SAID, Let there be light Let us make man. So our author, taking the Eastern figure in a more literal sense, says, God made all things with his Word, and ordained man through his Wisdom (ix, 1). And again, Wisdom knoweth thy works, and was present when thou madest the world, and knew what was acceptable in thy sight. And afterwards, to punish the Egyptians, Thine almighty Word leaped down from heaven out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war (xviii, 15). So when the word Trinity is first used for the Almighty by a Christian writer, Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, it is, as in this author, God, his Wisdom, and his Word.

Wisdom also teaches Plato's four cardinal virtues—Temperance, Prudence, Justice, and Fortitude; which are such things as men can have nothing more profitable in their life (viii, 7). She is, moreover, the breath of God's power, a pure influence flowing from the Almighty's glory; the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of God's power, and the image of his goodness (vii, 25); which last words are not unlike some used at the beginning of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

This work would seem to be one of the earliest Christian writings, written by one who had not seen any of the books of the New Testament, if they were already written. But the author is not free from the charge of wishing his book to pass for the work of the Hebrew monarch. He speaks of himself as King of God's people and builder of the temple (ix, 7). For this reason the book is very properly placed among the Apocryphal writings.

ON THE WISDOM OF JESUS, THE SON OF SIRACH, OR ECCLESIASTICUS.

THIS book, as we learn from the preface, was written in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by the author's grandson, who came to Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of Euergetes II., or B.C. 132. A second preface, by an unknown author, tells us that the grandson not only translated it, but wrote part of it. This is fully borne out by the contents of the book, which has many traces of the Alexandrian opinions of his day.

It begins with the praise of Wisdom, which is, in part, copied from the Proverbs of Solomon. But Wisdom is here made into a person. This is followed by a number of wise proverbs and moral rules. Then are spoken of with praise many of the most famous of the holy men mentioned in the Bible from Enoch to Simon the high-priest, who lived about B.C. 200, whom the writer seems to have been serving at the altar before the temple. That we find no mention of the prophet Daniel in this honourable list, is a pretty good proof that the book bearing his name at that time formed no part of the Bible.

The writer mentions with strong dislike the Samaritans of Sichem, and those that dwell among the Philistines, meaning the Idumeans.

He looks forward to the second coming of Elijah, who was ordained to appease God's anger, to turn the heart of the Father unto the child, and to restore the

tribes of Jacob (xlviii, 10). He thus misquotes the last verse of Malachi to support a stern view of the Almighty's character. He says that arms and good deeds make an atonement for sins; but he gives a warning against relying upon this doctrine of propitiation lest we add sin to sin (v, 5).

[This book is an important link in the chain which joins the Alexandrian Platonists to the Hebrew writers. We may trace Solomon's description of Wisdom in the Proverbs through the son of Sirach, and Philo, and the Book called the Wisdom of Solomon, till, in the Coptic treatise of Pistis-Sophia, she becomes a person, and almost another God.]

ON THE BOOK OF BARUCH.

BARUCH was the servant and friend of Jeremiah. He was the scribe who wrote into a book the prophecies which Jeremiah delivered by word of mouth (Jerem. xxxvi), and when the prophet was carried away captive into Egypt, by the brave remnant of Judah, who refused to live at home in slavery, the scribe was carried off with him.

This book is supposed to be an epistle written by the scribe Baruch, in the name of the Jewish king Jechoniah and his nobles, while prisoners in Babylon in the fifth year of the captivity. Its purport is to exhort the people of Jerusalem to pray for the life of their Babylonian conqueror, King Nebuchadnezzar, and of his son Balthazar, and to live quietly under their foreign rulers. It adds a prophecy that the nation will hereafter be again prosperous, and that if Jerusalem looks towards the east she will see joy coming unto her from God.

This book is very deservedly set aside as not genuine. Baruch, instead of being with the larger part of the captives in Babylon, was then a prisoner in Egypt with Jeremiah. Nor could Baruch have said that the sacred vessels were sent back to the temple by Nebuchadnezzar;

since they were not sent back till the reign of Cyrus (Ezra i, 7). Indeed, if we may believe the book to be so old, its matter seems to belong to the reign of Cyrus, when joy was coming from the East, and every friend to Israel would advise them to pray for the life of the king. In chap. ii, 23, he makes use of the words of Jeremiah vii, 34, respecting the desolation of the land. And in chap. ii, 3, he uses the words of Jeremiah xix, 9, respecting the famine which would cause men to eat their children; words which Jeremiah had before borrowed from Deut. xxviii, 53.

ON THE EPISTLE OF JEREMIAH.

THIS is a short piece of very little worth, in the form of a letter to those who are being carried captive to Babylon; and it mentions their return home after seven generations. It is upon the folly of worshipping idols made by men's hands. There is very little whereby to fix its date, but it may belong to the time of the Maccabees. Among the writings given to Jeremiah we find in chap. xxix such a letter to the captives in Babylon; and these few sentences seem to have been written as a companion to it. They are now added at the end of the Book of Baruch.

ON THE ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

THE Book of Apocrypha contains three portions of the Book of Daniel, which are cut off from the Greek of that Book, and here placed, because they are not found in Hebrew. These are THE SONG OF THE THREE HOLY CHILDREN, when walking in the midst of the fiery furnace, a continuation of chap. iii; THE HISTORY OF SUSANNA, and THE HISTORY OF BEL AND THE DRAGON, cut off from the end of Daniel.

These are valuable proofs of the sad habit which

prevailed among the Jews, of making continual additions to their Sacred Books. Many such additions now form part of the Bible; and very possibly these would not have been rejected if they had been written in Hebrew instead of Greek.

ON THE PRAYER OF MANASSES, KING OF JUDAH.

THIS is another addition to the Bible. In 2 Kings xxi, we are told that Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, was a very wicked king; and a prophecy is added that in consequence the Jews shall be delivered into the hands of their enemies. In 2 Chronicles xxxiii it is added by the modern historian, that for this wickedness the king of Assyria carried away Manasseh, and left him prisoner in Babylon; that when there he repented and humbled himself before God, and was allowed to return home to Jerusalem. And this prayer is a further addition, and is supposed to contain the words in which he expressed his repentance for his sins. Such a prayer is mentioned in 2 Chron. xxxiii, 18.

ON THE FIRST BOOK OF THE MACCABEES.

THIS book contains the history of the rebellion of the Jews against the Syrian kings, and of the wars which they bravely carried on, in the attempt to regain their independence, for about forty years, under the leadership, first of Judas Maccabæus, then of Jonathan his brother, then of Simon another brother, and then of John Hyrcanus, Simon's son.

In the year 137 of the Seleucidæ, or B.C. 175, Antiochus Epiphanes came to the Syrian throne, and attempted the invasion of Egypt. Seven years afterwards he led his forces against Judea, and entered Jerusalem. There he plundered the temple, set up an idol on the altar, and made severe laws against the Jewish religion. He

burnt the Books of the Law wherever they could be found (i). Every Jew was ordered, under pain of death, to sacrifice to the Pagan idols. Against this tyranny, Mattathias, a priest of the town of Modin, near Jerusalem, rebelled, and fled to the mountains, where many followers put themselves under his leadership; and on his death his son Judas Maccabæus took the command (ii). Against these rebels King Antiochus sent a large army (iii); but it was defeated in several battles by Judas, who thereby gained possession of the temple, and part of the city of Jerusalem, and he re-established the service in the temple as of old (iv). The whole of the Israelites now rallied round Judas, who was master of the greater part of the country except the fortified places. He defeated the Edomites in battle, and fought against other enemies with various success (v).

About that time Antiochus Eupator succeeded to the throne of Syria, and he sent a larger army into Judea, which regained from the Jews that part of Jerusalem which had been in the hands of the rebels (vi).

Demetrius, the next king of Syria (B.C. 162), continued the endeavour to reconquer Judea, but his forces were twice defeated by Judas, and the land had rest for a short time (vii). Judas then sent an embassy to Rome to ask for help, but gained nothing more than an encouraging answer (viii). Soon afterwards he was defeated and slain in battle, and his brother Jonathan succeeded to the government (ix).

The rising of Alexander Balas, and the civil war in Syria, for a time gave rest to the afflicted Israelites. Demetrius and Alexander both asked for the friendship of Jonathan; and Alexander gave him hostages that the Jews who held the temple should not be attacked by the royal forces in Jerusalem; and Demetrius made yet further offers of releasing the country from all tribute. Demetrius, however, was soon slain in battle by Alexander, who appointed Jonathan governor of the province (x). And afterwards Alexander was slain in battle with the king of Egypt.

Notwithstanding the deaths of the two kings, there remained two claimants to the crown of Syria—Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, and Antiochus, the son of Alexander—and they both asked for the friendship of Jonathan. Jonathan at first helped Demetrius; but as Demetrius would not give up the castle of Jerusalem to him, he turned to the side of Antiochus, from whom he received the office of high-priest (xi). Jonathan then made treaties of peace with Rome and Sparta.

Shortly afterwards Tryphon, the chief general in the service of King Antiochus, rebelled, and claimed the throne of Syria for himself. At the same time he carried on the war against the Jews. He took Jonathan prisoner in the city of Ptolemais (xii). Thereupon the people chose Simon for their leader in the place of his brother Jonathan; and Tryphon put Jonathan to death. Tryphon then slew the young King Antiochus, and made himself king of Syria.

After this Demetrius, the other claimant to the throne, made peace with Simon, and appointed him high-priest. The garrison that held the castle of Jerusalem surrendered to the Jews, and for a time the land had rest (xiii). Demetrius was taken prisoner in his war with the Persians; and Simon, in order to strengthen his power, made new treaties of peace with Rome and Sparta (xiv).

When Antiochus Sidetes, the son of Demetrius, came to the throne of Syria (B.C. 140), he renewed the appointment of Simon as high-priest of Judea, while engaged in the war against Tryphon. But when Tryphon was defeated, Antiochus quarrelled with the Jews. In the meantime the Romans had sent embassies to the neighbouring kings, declaring that they would protect the independence of Judea under Simon; but this did not stop Antiochus, who was now anxious to re-establish Syrian authority in that country (xv).

Simon was now getting old, but his sons were able to help him in his efforts to maintain the nation's independence. He was, however, treacherously slain with two of his sons, Mattathias and Judas, by the governor of

Jericho; and John Hyrcanus, another of his sons, was then made high-priest as successor of his father.

[This is the short but careful trustworthy account of the Jews regaining their independence under the Maccabees. Who the people in this history called Spartans were is wholly unknown. They cannot have been Greeks of Lacedæmon. The book is written in exact chronological order. The author is unknown, but he lived soon after the time of John Hyrcanus.]

ON THE SECOND BOOK OF THE MACCABEES.

THIS Second Book is not by the author of the First Book, nor is it by any means of equal value. One Jason of Cyrene had written in five books a history of Judas Maccabæus, of his wars against Antiochus Epiphanes and Antiochus Eupator, and of his purification of the temple of Jerusalem. Our Second Book of Maccabees is an abridgment of this work by an unknown Alexandrian writer (ii, 23). He begins with a letter written from the Jews of Jerusalem to their brethren in Egypt, asking them to join in celebrating the purification of the temple, which they were about to celebrate, after being delivered from some great troubles not therein described (i-ii, 18). This letter quotes two former letters of nearly the same purport, both asking the Egyptian Jews to join them in keeping the Feast of Tabernacles in the month of Casleu, on the purification of the temple from defilement by the Gentiles. The first was written in the year of the Seleucidæ 169, or B. C. 143, when they purified the temple after Simon Maccabæus had made the nation independent (i, 7-9). The second (i, 10-18) was written twenty-one years earlier, by Judas Maccabæus and his council, when they purified the temple after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.

This letter is dated by mistake in the year of the Seleucidæ 188, which we must correct to 148, or B. C. 164.

It was written to Aristobulus, a peripatetic philosopher of Alexandria, who was at that time the head of the Egyptian Jews, and had been employed in the education of Ptolemy Euergetes II.

The longer letter, ending at chap. ii, 18, which quotes the two former letters, would seem to have been written soon after that by Simon, as it gives no explanation of the well-known occasion on which that was written. In the want of evidence, we may conjecture that this third letter was written by order of John Hyrcanus soon after the siege of Jerusalem by King Antiochus Sidetes in the year B. C. 137. The writer offers to the Egyptian Jews the use of the sacred writings which Nehemiah had gathered together in his library, and which were again brought together by Judas Maccabæus after they had been scattered in the wars.

After this letter and a preface (ii, 19-32), there follows the history abridged from the larger work by Jason.

In the reign of Seleucus [Philopator], when Onias was high-priest, Heliodorus, the king's treasurer, was sent to claim the sacred gold and silver out of the temple of Jerusalem; but as he entered the building he was stopped by a miracle. A terrible man on horseback trod him to the ground, and two others on foot scourged him till he was carried out speechless (iii). Antiochus Epiphanes, the next king of Syria, first displaced Onias from the priesthood, and put his brother Jason into his place; and then displaced Jason and made Menelaus high-priest, as likely to be a more willing instrument in raising tribute from the Jews.

Under the tyranny of Menelaus the Jews revolted; but Antiochus, on the return from his second invasion of Egypt, put down the rebellion by force, led his army into Jerusalem, and himself entered the Holy of Holies to seize the treasures on the altar. Upon this outrage the rebellion again broke out; and Judas Maccabæus withdrew into the mountains, where a body of brave men gathered themselves about him (v). All Jewish ceremonies were now forbidden under pain of

death (vi), and many were put to death because they refused to eat pork (vii).

Judas then stood forward as head of the Jews, and leader of such as were willing to oppose the Syrian tyranny. He defeated the kings' armies in several battles (viii), and on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, Judas recovered Jerusalem, and purified the temple from the defilement by the Gentiles (x, 8).

Antiochus Eupator, the next king (B.C. 164), renewed the war against the Jews. But Judas was still able to keep the field. He defeated an attack on the temple of Jerusalem, and obtained a treaty of peace from the king (xi). The war, however, did not cease in other parts of Judea, and in the next year (B. C. 163), Antiochus led a large army in person against the Jews. But he met with considerable resistance, and again made a treaty with Judas, and appointed him governor of the province (xiii).

Demetrius, the next king of Syria, sent Nicanor against Judea; but after some time Nicanor made peace with Judas, and the land again had rest (xiv, 25). And when Nicanor again renewed the war he was slain in battle (xv).

[The history in this Second Book begins at an earlier period than the former, and embraces a shorter time. Its aim is to explain the letter with which the book begins. The author of it had not seen the former book; indeed, they were probably both written at the same time under the priesthood of John Hyrcanus. We may remark, that the letter quoted may be understood to say that Antiochus died in Persia (i, 13-16); whereas our author more correctly states that he returned from that country (ix, 1-3). The book is wanting in simplicity; but its devout feeling is worthy of a better style. He beautifully accepts the nation's misfortunes as a chastening sent by God for their good; and rejoices that it is not delayed till they have come to the height of their sins, lest then he should have to take vengeance on them (vi, 12).]

ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE New Testament, or New Covenant as the name should be translated, contains books of various kinds and by various authors. These writers were either Apostles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, or companions of the Apostles, except perhaps, in the case of one or two books of doubtful authorship. It contains the history of the foundation and early spread of the Christian religion. It consists of, first,

Four separate histories of the life of Jesus, each called the Good Tidings, or the Gospel, an old Saxon word of the same meaning. Then follow,

The Acts of the Apostles, containing the events from the death of Jesus till Paul's imprisonment;

Thirteen Epistles, or if properly divided, perhaps fourteen Epistles by Paul;

One Epistle to the Hebrews, by an unknown writer;

Seven Epistles by James, Peter, John, and Jude, of which the second of Peter is probably not genuine; and lastly,

The Revelation, by John.

It is not known how soon these several writings were gathered together into one collection. There had been written other Gospels or lives of the Saviour, and other Epistles by early disciples; but even within a century and a half after the crucifixion, we meet with proof that most of those writings which now form our New Testament were received by the majority of Christians as of a value and authority which bore no comparison with the others which were thrown aside. But these early proofs do not go so far as to support every sentence and

word in the volume. Additions [and alterations may certainly have been made in the four Gospels, between the time of the writers and the time when evidence by the quotations can be brought forward to support the single words. The earliest and most trustworthy of the manuscripts of the New Testament, those in the Vatican, the British Museum, and Paris, were written in Alexandria about the year A.D. 450. More than one hundred years earlier, however, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, wrote a catalogue of the books; and they are the same as those which we now possess. The Syriac translation, made about A.D. 200, contains all our books except the Second Epistle of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, the Second and Third of John, and the Revelation. The writings of Origen about A. D. 230; of Cyprian a little earlier, of Clement of Alexandria, about A.D. 190, and of Irenæus about A. D. 170, are full of quotations which are word for word the same as our New Testament. Thus far we go back with certainty for the Gospels as well as for the other books. In the earlier century the evidence is more general and less minute; it only proves the existence of writings such as our scriptures, and the reverence in which they were held, but not that they then contained all the words which they now contain. Justin Martyr, in about A. D. 130, has several quotations from our Christian books, and says that the Gospels were read every Sunday in all the principal cities in which Greek was spoken; Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostle John, has nearly forty allusions to the New Testament, though not direct quotations; and Papias, his companion, speaks of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. (*See Lardner's Credibility*).

For the Acts and Epistles the case is, however, stronger. In these, the strict uniformity of style is such that we may be sure that no part is an after addition. When, therefore, the early writers by their quotations from the latter half of the New Testament prove that parts at least of these several writings are of the age which they profess to be, they prove all that is necessary.

We may, from the style alone, rest assured in the case of each that it is unaltered and that the whole of each Epistle or writing quoted, is by one author and of one date.

After the evidence for the written word of the New Testament comes that which supports the main facts in the Christian history, including the teachings of our Saviour and the opinions of the Apostles. For this we may bring forward the unbroken chain of Christian writings. This chain begins with one short Epistle of Barnabas, one of Clement of Rome, and three of Ignatius; of which writers, the first two were companions of the Apostles. These are followed by the longer writings of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras, their immediate successors, and then by the copious works of Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, within the second century, and by those of Origen and countless others after the year 200.

This testimony of the Christians is not a little supported by several Pagan writers, who mention the acts of the early Christians and the sufferings which they willingly bore sooner than renounce their religion. Tacitus (*Ann.* xv, 44) writing in A. D. 100, mentions the origin of the sect; Suetonius (*Nero*, 16), at the same time describes the persecution of the Christians; and Juvenal (*Sat.* 155) alludes to it, but without naming them. Pliny, who was then governor of Bithynia, writes to the emperor Trajan for orders how to act towards them. Martial in one of his epigrams ridicules their sufferings; while the philosopher Epictetus, (*iv*, 7) in about A. D. 150, and the emperor Marcus Aurelius, ten years later, praise their firmness and courage.

These are some of the arguments from without, which are used to prove the genuineness of the Books of the New Testament and the truth of Historic Christianity. But as a support to the Religion of Christ, with the larger class of minds the internal evidence probably carries far greater weight. The divine author of Christianity teaches us that the Creator is not only all powerful but all good, that he governs not only as a

judge, but as a father, and that we should trust in his wisdom and kindness in all humility as children. He teaches us that we shall find happiness in loving one another, in helping those around us without seeking for thanks or praise, in bearing injuries without anger, and in forgiving those that wrong us. He tells us that we shall find comfort in thanksgiving, in prayer, and in the confession of our faults, and strength to bear our trials in an acknowledgment of our weakness. He strengthens our motives for doing what we think right and our fear of doing what we think wrong by showing, that we are not formed to die, and that after this life we shall meet with a reward or punishment for our conduct in this world of trial. And he adds the "Good tidings," that if we repent of what we have done wrong, and amend our lives we shall be forgiven. He helps us thus to live in the love and fear of God, not only by his advice, but by his example; and to most of us the best proof of the truth of his religion is found in the readiness with which the head and the heart answer Amen to all that he says. Such teaching as this might well be called the "Good Tidings," or as our Saxon translators call it "The Gospel."

ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE language of history is easily translated, and needs little remark; the actions and the things named are nearly the same at all times; a horse, a camp, a general, a battle, a sword, find words in all languages. But it is far otherwise with our philosophical thoughts and religious feelings. The words which express these in one age of the world, are not easily understood in another. They must be explained by the help of the known opinions of the people who have used them and adapted them to their wants. The simple language of the Gospels, which speak to the heart, which describe the Saviour's life and acts of mercy, is more easily

understood by everybody, than the philosophical arguments of the Apostle Paul, which have often been wrested by the unlearned to the defence of opinions which the Apostle never held. But even in the simplest parts of a book written eighteen centuries ago, there are many words which a translation leaves obscure, and which require the help of a commentator.

The word *God*, which is now always pronounced with reverence as a proper name for the Creator, had, eighteen hundred years ago, been used among nations of polytheists, for Jupiter and Juno, for Osiris, for Baal, for statues and sacred animals, for kings and their favourites. When the Greeks of Egypt or Syria called Ptolemy or Antiochus a god, they never for a moment supposed that he had any share in creating or governing the world. The word bore no such lofty meaning. Moreover, it was a common name, not a proper name. To speak of the Almighty; it was necessary to say *The God*. Thus Paul did not write (Rom. ix, 5), "He that is over all, namely God, be blessed for ever," but "He that is God over all." Jehovah, on the other hand, was a proper name, and a word free from misunderstanding. But then it was a word too sacred to be written in Greek letters: it finds no place in the New Testament, or in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament. The word used in its place is *Lord*, and more often as a proper name, and therefore not *The Lord*, as we are obliged to write it in English. Thus, while the word *Lord* is used in some places as a mere title of civility to a centurion or a nobleman, it is in other places used as a proper name in a sense more solemn even than *God*.

Sometimes the Jewish reverential custom of not writing or speaking the name of Jehovah, leaves the meaning doubtful. Thus, in Coloss. i, 19, "For He was well pleased that in him all fulness should dwell;" means that God was well pleased. Again, in Heb. iii, 5, "Moses truly was faithful in all His house;" means God's house. Sometimes, in order to avoid speaking of Jehovah too lightly, they say the Spirit of Jehovah, or the Holy Spirit, when they simply mean Jehovah.

himself; though at other times the Spirit means God's influence on the hearts of men.

The word which we render *Worship* is applied not only to God, but also to any men of rank; as, "The slave, falling down, worshipped him" (Matt. xviii, 26). The word which is more solemn and is applied only to God, is to *Serve* or perform religious service; as, "God whom I serve in my spirit" (Rom. i, 9); and again, "They shall serve me in this place" (Acts vii, 7).

Good feeling has led all nations to speak to inferiors as youthful, to call servants lads, boys, or maidens; and thus a word which in the time of Homer meant a *Son*, in the New Testament and Septuagint means a *Servant*. In Acts iv, 25, 27, we meet with "Thy servant David," and "Thy holy servant Jesus."

Many words by use gain a meaning more limited and more particular than they at first bore. Thus the Jews had such strong national feelings, that their word *Nations* means Foreign Nations, and we leave it untranslated—the Heathen, or the Gentiles. So Paul, in 1 Cor. xiv, speaking of a *Language*, means a foreign language. Since the conquest of Judea by the Assyrians, the Jews had been very much scattered among the neighbouring nations, but never lost their love of home. The word *Dispersion* thereby gained a peculiar meaning; and Peter, writing to his countrymen abroad, calls them the Pilgrims of the Dispersion (1 Peter i, 1). James also writes to the twelve tribes of the Dispersion.

Words which have two meanings in the same sentence can seldom be properly translated. Thus, in John iii, 8, we have one word meaning both Wind and Spirit. In Mark viii, 35, 37, we have a word meaning both Life and Soul. In Hebrews ix, 15, 20, we have a word meaning both Testament and Covenant. In each of these cases, the argument rests on the ambiguity of the word, and is lost in a translation. It must be left to the commentator to explain them.

Even the very simple words, *Greeks*, *Jews*, and *Hebrews*, are not without two meanings each. The Apostle Paul, by *Greeks*, often means all who are not

Jews; as, "There is no difference between Jew and Greek" (Rom. x, 12). By Jews, Paul means all who were of the Jewish religion; but the Evangelist John means natives of Judea only. By the word Hebrews, the writer of the Acts (chap. vi, 1) means those only who spoke Hebrew; while he calls the Jews who spoke Greek, Grecians or Hellenists. On the other hand, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews means to address all of the Jewish faith; but he certainly wrote in Greek; and, though he calls his readers Hebrews, he did not write for the use of those who used the Hebrew language.

The Jews of all sects had a strong belief that the age of the world in which they were then living was drawing to a close. Whether the end of the age was to arrive sooner or later—whether it was to be followed by the day of judgment, or by the destruction of the world, or by the beginning of a new age, they were not agreed. But so strong was this belief, that it appears in their religious language; and when a writer says that anything will last till the end of the age, he leaves us in doubt whether he means for ever, or for a short and fixed period of time. The words, "So will it be in the end of this age" (Matt. xiii, 40), refer to the day of judgment. "He hath no forgiveness till the end of the age" (Mark iii, 29), may mean for ever. Paul (1 Tim. i, 17), to make it clear that he means for ever, says, "Honour and glory for ages of ages." When the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says (i, 2), that God through Jesus made the Ages, he is using language not unlike that of some of the Gnostics, who said that the Æons or Ages were spiritual beings that proceeded out of the everlasting God, and to whom he trusted the government of the world. See Theodoret, Heret., ii.

It would be more satisfactory if a Greek word, wherever it is met with, could be translated into the same English word; but this is often impossible, as it may have several distinct meanings. Thus we have one Greek word which seems to mean *messenger*, *angel*, *ghost*, *preacher*, as in the following sentences. In

Luke vii, 24, we have, "And when John's *messengers* were gone, he began to say." In Acts v, 19, we find, "An *angel* of the Lord by night opened the prison doors." In Acts xii, 15, when Peter appeared at home, while he was thought to be at a distance in prison, we have, "Then they said, It is his *ghost*;" and in 1 Tim. iii, 16, we have "One who was made manifest in flesh, was justified in spirit, was seen by *preachers*, was proclaimed among the Gentiles, was believed on in the world, was received up in glory." In these four quotations we find four English words in the place of one Greek word. So also the word translated *prophet*, generally means a man gifted with the power of foretelling future events, as in Matt. xxvi, 56: "All this hath been done, that the writings of the *prophets* might be fulfilled." But this word sometimes means a man who has the power of extempore speaking, as in Acts xiii, 1; "Now there were at Antioch, in the church there, certain *prophets* and teachers, as Barnabas, and Simeon who was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen the schoolfellow of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul."

The writers suppose their Jewish readers to have a most thorough knowledge of the Old Testament. They quote it without naming it, knowing that the words of the oracle would be at once recognised and bowed to. Thus—"For he must reign till *he hath put all enemies under his feet*," says the Apostle (1 Cor. xv, 25); "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice *they sacrifice to demons, not to gods*" (1 Cor. x, 20); "For *who hath known the mind of the Lord?*" (Rom. xi, 34); "For *all flesh is as grass*" (1 Peter i, 24). In each of these cases the writer quotes the Old Testament without saying so.

The references to the prophecies of the Old Testament are not only to the sense, but usually to the exact words. Thus Jesus is called THE CHRIST, or THE ANOINTED, because they applied to him the following words from Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because he hath *Anointed* me to preach good tidings to the poor" (Luke iv, 18). So, when the

Baptist says he is not the Christ, he is asked, "What then, art thou Elijah?" (John i, 21), referring to the words of Malachi: "Behold, I will send you Elijah, the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord." The next question is, "Art thou the Prophet?" referring to the words of Deuteronomy, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from among thy brethren" (*see* Acts iii, 22, and vii, 37). But the Baptist, quoting Isaiah, says, "I am *the voice of one crying in the desert.*" When the Saviour says that "John was the lamp that burneth and shineth" (John v, 35), he probably refers to Isaiah lxii, 1; "I will not rest until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth." The title given to Jesus of the Son of Man is probably taken from the prophet Ezekiel, who uses it throughout. After the time of Ezekiel it was stamped with still more importance, in Daniel vii, 13: "Behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven."

But the practice of referring to the words of the prophets, has in one or two cases led the writers to overlook the sense. Thus Matt. ii, 23: "He dwelt in a city called Nazareth; so that it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophets, He will be called a Nazarite." Here the writer of this chapter mistakes a Nazarite, or man under a vow, for a Nazarene, or native of Nazareth. He perhaps refers to Judges xiii, 5, where Samson is called a Nazarite; though more probably to Isaiah xi, 1, where the expected Messiah is called a Nazar or *Branch*. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, quotes from the Psalm, "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that Thou visitest him?"—as if the words *son of man* could there mean Jesus, or indeed any one man in particular.

Sometimes the quotation is so short that it must be misunderstood by an unlearned reader. Thus John (xii, 40) quotes from Isaiah, "He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts." But those who re-

member the words in the Old Testament, know that they are wholly different in meaning; namely, "This people hath blinded their own eyes and hardened their own hearts,"

The quotations are usually taken from the Greek translation, called the Septuagint. When the writer to the Hebrews quotes a text, as if about the nature of angels, "Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire,"—his argument would have been spoiled if he had quoted from the Hebrew—"Who maketh the winds his messengers, and the lightnings his servants." When Paul says that the Law was 430 years after the Covenant (Gal. iii, 17), he is quoting from the Septuagint, which says that there were 430 years between Abraham and Moses (Exodus xii, 40); not from the Hebrew Bible, which says that there were 430 years between Joseph and Moses.

One Hebrew mode of expression is often a cause of ambiguity; namely, placing two clauses in a sentence as if they were parallel, whereas one is in reality dependent on the other. Thus, "Be angry, and sin not" (Ephes. iv, 26), means, If ye be angry, then sin not. Again, "I thank Thee, O Father, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes" (Matt. xi, 25), means, Because, whereas Thou hast hid these things, &c. Again: "But thanks be to God that ye were the slaves of sin, but have obeyed from the heart" (Rom. vi, 17), means, that whereas ye were the slaves of sin, &c.

These few remarks are perhaps enough to show, that after the difficulties of translation have been overcome, there still remain a large number of words and sentences which ask for help from critical skill. They show that though no learning is necessary when we read the New Testament for purposes of devotion and as a guide towards our duties, yet that the unlearned will not do right to quote it in theological controversy without help from a commentator.

ON THE FOUR GOSPELS.

OF these lives of the Saviour, two bear the names of followers of the Apostles, namely, Mark and Luke; and two bear the names of Apostles, namely, Matthew and John. But the titles do not tell us whether the four Evangelists themselves wrote the Gospels, or whether they were written by others from information which they reported. The most careless reader of these histories may observe that there are many parts of the first three—namely, Matthew, Mark, and Luke—which agree in thoughts, and even in words, so closely as to prove they were copied either one from another or from some common writings. But the fourth has no such agreement with the rest. The first three are marked by a greater simplicity in the narrative; the fourth by more argumentative and philosophical speeches, by greater depth of feeling and elevation of thought. The first three relate the Saviour's miracles and teachings, chiefly while he dwelt in Galilee; the fourth more particularly during his visits to Jerusalem. The first three report his speeches as if noted down soon after they were delivered; but in the fourth they seem coloured by the historian's own frame of mind; so much so, indeed, that it is not always easy to separate the Saviour's speech from the reasoning that follows it. There is no very certain end to the speech of the Saviour beginning at chap. iii, 10, nor to that of the Baptist beginning at chap. iii, 27. Hence we may suppose that the fourth Gospel was written rather later than the others; and that it was written when the writer was not living in Palestine is shown by the manner in which it speaks of the Jews of Judea.

A careful examination of the first three Gospels will show that the writers did not copy one from another; no one had probably ever seen the other's writings, at least in the form in which they now stand. But they each made use of several common writings. How many of these original narratives there may have been in the

hands of the Christian disciples before our present Gospels were written we have no means of determining; but several such may be distinguished with certainty. One writing, or class of writings, contained those portions of history which are told in the very same words by all the three historians; a second writing, or class of writings, contained those portions which are word for word the same in Matthew and Mark; a third contained those which are the same in Matthew and Luke; a fourth, those which are contained in Mark and Luke. A yet more careful examination seems to show that some portions of the three Gospels were taken from a common Hebrew original; because, though they are not here word for word the same, yet they agree so closely as to seem like three translations from one history. The rest of these three Gospels, like the fourth, was written from the writers' own knowledge of the facts, or from information gained from the Saviour's disciples, or from other writings within their reach.

The third Gospel is clearly marked as a compilation, and is even called so. Luke, the author, tells us in his preface that already before him many writers had undertaken to set forth in order the history of the Saviour's life. These writings he may have seen and taken copies of during his visit to Jerusalem with St. Paul. Some of them were, no doubt, those we have been already describing. Others, used by himself alone, may be traced in his Gospel by the peculiarities of their style. One of these, of course, is the Saviour's genealogy in chap. iii. A second is the account of the birth of John the Baptist and Jesus, and is marked by the speeches being written in poetry—namely, chap. i, 5—ii, 52. A third is marked by its calling Jesus, not by his name, but the Lord: as chap. x, 1; xi, 39; xii, 42; xvii, 5; and xix, 9. He had not been usually thus named so early as when Paul was asserting it as an article of belief that Jesus Christ was the Lord. Under these circumstances, as it is so evidently a compilation, it would be difficult to prove that Luke was the author of the whole of this Gospel, and that no portion was added

after he had published it. On the other hand, no portion bears marks of being more modern than the time of his life. He joined himself to the Apostle Paul as his disciple when a young man in about the year A.D. 51, and he may, therefore, easily have been alive ten years after the destruction of Jerusalem. The prophecy of the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans in chap. xxi, 20-26 may have received some descriptive particulars after the event. The evangelist would also seem to have read the bold figures applied to the same terrible event in Revelation vi, 12-15.

The Gospel of Mark shows few traces either of having received any additions, or of being the work of more than one author. The last twelve verses, indeed, which mention the Saviour's appearing bodily after his resurrection, are proved to have been absent from the older copies; the rest we may suppose to be in the state in which the Evangelist left it, having been written with the help of those earlier writings already spoken of, which also form part of both Matthew and Luke, or one of them. This Gospel is the shortest of the first three. Many events in the Saviour's life which are mentioned in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, are not mentioned in this. But then, on the other hand, when an event is told by all three of these historians, we usually find that Mark has related it at greater length, and with the greater number of particulars.

Mark was a disciple both of Paul and Peter, and a much younger man than either of them; perhaps of about the same age with Luke. But as the ecclesiastical historian tells us that he wrote his Gospel by the help of the Apostle Peter, one of the Saviour's earliest followers, it must have been written within Peter's lifetime and earlier than that of Luke, and some years before the destruction of Jerusalem.

The Gospel of Matthew probably contains much that is not the work of the Apostle whose name it bears. Matthew was one of the earliest disciples of the Saviour; he was a witness of much that Jesus did and taught, His history might have been written from his own

recollections; it would have been one of the first which related to the Christians their master's acts and words. Instead of writing a history with the help of earlier writings, as our first Gospel was evidently written, we must rather suppose that Matthew was himself the author of one of these earliest writings. Moreover we are told by the ecclesiastical historians, that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew; and, therefore, we are driven to the opinion that our present Greek Gospel is a translation from that written by Matthew, but with many large additions perhaps added by the translator. When the later writers, Luke and Mark, obtained possession of several early writings, with the help of which they wrote their Gospels, it is difficult to believe they were unacquainted with what had been written by Matthew; and it is, therefore, probable that the original writing by Matthew was part of that which we now trace as the basis of all the three Gospels. Among the additions to it we may mention the account of the Saviour's miraculous birth in Matt. i-ii, which was unknown to Mark and Luke, and which can have formed no part of the Apostle's original Gospel; and some of the particulars respecting the invasion of Judea and siege of Jerusalem by the Romans in chap. xxiv, which seem rather description than prophecy. The words of the Old Testament are so familiar to the writer's mind that he uses them not only as quotations, but as part of the narrative, and thus the words of the command to Joseph to take the child home from Egypt are borrowed from Exodus iv, 19, where Moses is ordered to return from Midian; and Herod's murder of the children is described in words copied from Pharaoh's murder of the children in Egypt.

We may safely lay it down as a rule in sacred criticism, that if two sentences or portions of history are so nearly in the same words that we consider one borrowed from the other, then the shortest is always the oldest. In no case did the second writer mean to omit from his history anything that had been already written; the narrative was too valuable, or rather too sacred, to

be shortened. But he freely added new portions of history either from his own recollections or from the information of others; and he added words and sentences to explain and make more complete those shorter narratives that he was making use of for his own history. Guided by this rule, we may conclude that of the three Gospels as we now have them, Mark's is older than either Matthew's or Luke's, because it is less full. We may also conclude that yet older than the whole of Mark are those portions of Matthew, Mark, and Luke which are common to all three; because they are free from the additional words and sentences which are added in Mark.

Luke was for many years a companion of Paul, and hence we see a natural agreement in their writings. Paul may have learned some of his facts from Luke; and Luke may have gained some of his opinions from Paul. The account of the institution of the Lord's Supper is given by both of them in nearly the same words: compare Luke xxii with 1 Cor. xi. The occasions on which Jesus was seen by his disciples after his resurrection, are nearly the same in Luke xxiv, and 1 Cor. xv, if we suppose Cleopas to be another name for James. The writings of both teach that no meats need be set aside as unlawful: compare Luke x, 8, and 1 Cor. x, 25. Luke's written Gospel, like Paul's teaching, seems particularly addressed to Gentile Christians.

Matthew's Gospel, on the other hand, by an equal number of peculiarities, may be shown to have been written for Jewish Christians. Jesus therein says, that he is sent especially to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (xv, 24, x, 6, and xix, 28). The threats that the kingdom of heaven shall be given to the Gentiles, may, perhaps, be part of the later additions; such are chap. viii, 11, 12, and chap. xxi, 43. This Gospel is more full than the others of quotations from the Old Testament; and is also more full of rebukes on the pride and hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees. Moreover it does not explain the Jewish customs, although it shows greater knowledge of them. In this

Gospel the Saviour says, "Let him that wisheth to have judgment against thee, and to take thy under-coat, let him have thy outer-cloak also." But Luke, who did not understand the Jewish law of clothes seized for debt, alters the order of the words, and says, "From him that taketh away thy outer-cloak, forbid not thy under-coat also." Luke's knowledge of the Old Testament was less than that of the first two Evangelists. Thus the Saviour in Matthew, chap. x, 35, uses the words of the prophet Micah, that *the son will be against his father, the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law*; but Luke, in chap. xii, 53, enlarges the remark, and alters it by saying that the parents will also be divided against their children.

On a comparison of the first three Gospels, there are several passages which seem less to be relied upon in that of Matthew. Such is the sending for an ass and its colt for the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, when the other Evangelists only speak of one animal. Such is the feeding miraculously, first, the five thousand (chap. xiv), and then the four thousand (chap. xv), whereas only one such event is mentioned in Luke and John.

The Gospel of Mark shows no leaning either to Jewish or to Gentile Christians. Mark first travelled and taught in company with Paul and Barnabas. He then travelled with Barnabas alone (Acts xv, 36-39). We afterwards again find him with Paul during his imprisonment in Rome (Col. iv, 10); and lastly, we find him a companion of the Apostle Peter in Babylon (1 Peter v, 13). He was thus educated in both views of Christianity, that of Paul and that of Peter; and his Gospel shows no leaning towards either.

The Gospel according to John does not seem to have been written by the help of those early writings which were the foundation of the first three. It is a wholly independent narrative, and differs from the others in many particulars. It is less simple as a history, and was written after the views entertained about the

Saviour had become more elevated, and after philosophical discussions had arisen about his person and nature. In the preface the writer makes use of words and thoughts which were peculiar to the Gnostic philosophers, and which afterwards marked the sect of Christian Gnostics. It is not wholly free from additions; the last chapter in particular was written after the former part had been brought to a close.

This gospel begins the day and counts the hours from midnight according to the Roman custom, instead of beginning the day at sunset, and counting the hours from sunset and again from sunrise, according to the Jewish custom, as the first three gospels and the Acts do.

The writer seems to say that he was not the apostle John, nor himself an eye-witness of what he relates, but that he wrote what he had received from John, who was a witness to the Saviour's teaching (iii, 33). The whole has great uniformity of style; and those difficulties in the narrative which seem to argue sometimes in favour of an early date and sometimes in favour of a later date for this portion of scripture, are to be explained not as in the case of Matthew and Luke, by supposing it a compilation, but by considering it as re-written from John's record. The writer says that John, who saw the events, bore witness to them, and that his record is true; and he adds, that a certain adversary, whom he does not name, knows that John's record is to be trusted (xix, 35). John would seem to be still alive and of a great age (xxi, 22-24). The writer styles him the disciple whom Jesus loved; and he was of all the Apostles the one most intimate with his master. This was particularly shown on the occasion of the Last Supper, when Jesus confided to him which of the twelve would be the traitor. The exact account of the manner in which the question was asked and answered, looks as if the writer was an actor in the scene. John was lying at meat next to Jesus on that part of the couch called 'in Jesus' bosom.' He was able, therefore, when asked by Simon Peter, to lean

back with his head on Jesus' breast, and ask, in a whisper, who it was that would be the traitor: and Jesus was in the same way able to answer without being overheard, "He it is to whom I shall give the sop." The account is told less accurately by Matthew, Mark, and Luke. After the crucifixion John remained in Jerusalem, where he was counted a pillar of the church (Gal. ii, 9).

Besides the difference in the narrative already mentioned between the first three Gospels and that of John, they all differ in the order of the events in the Saviour's ministry. John gives to the ministry the very probable limit of eighteen months, and also gives something like a date to the chief events by means of the feasts in the Jewish calendar. The other Evangelists do not write with the same appearance of method; but yet, perhaps, it may be safer to rely upon Matthew or Mark for the order of events. In particular, the account of the Saviour's first visit to Jerusalem and his turning the money changers out of the Temple, in John ii, 13—iii, 21, seems to belong to a later part of his life.

The following tables of the contents of each Gospel are arranged according to the Saviour's journeys, and thus conveniently show the agreement or disagreement between the four narratives:—

Matthew

- i, 1. The genealogy.
- ii, 1. Jesus is born in Bethlehem of Judea.
- iii, 13. He is BAPTIZED by John in the Jordan.
- iv, 1. He is TEMPTED in the desert.
 - 12. He returns to GALILEE when John is delivered up.
 - 13. To Capernaum.
 - The first four disciples called.
- v, 1. The sermon on the mount.
- viii, 2. He HEALS A LEPER.
 - 5. To CAPERNAUM, where he heals the centurion's servant and Simon's wife's mother.

Matthew

- viii, 18. He teaches by the lake, and rebukes the storm.
 28. He crosses to the GERGESENES and heals two demoniacs.
- ix, 1. To his own city, where he heals the PARALYTIC.
 9. Matthew is called.
- x, 1. The Twelve are chosen and sent forth.
- xi, 1. He preaches in their cities.
- xii, 1. He teaches in the CORN-FIELD, and heals the withered hand.
- xiii, 54. To his OWN COUNTRY.
- xiv, 14. He feeds the five thousand.
 26. He walks on the water.
 34. To GENNESARET,
- xv, 21. To TYRE and SIDON.
 29. He feeds the four thousand.
- xvi, 5. To the other side of the lake.
 13. To Cæsarea Philippi, where he is acknowledged as the Messiah.
- xvii, 1. The transfiguration.
 22. In Galilee.
 24. To CAPERNAUM.
- xix, 1. To the neighbourhood of Judea, beyond the Jordan.
 xx, 17. Towards JERUSALEM.
 29. At JERICHO.
- xxi, 1. To BETHPHAGE.
 10. To JERUSALEM, where he is crucified.
- xxviii. He is seen by the two Marys and by the eleven in Galilee.

Mark

- i, 9. Jesus is BAPTIZED by John.
 14. He returns to GALILEE when John is delivered up.
 The first four disciples are called.
 21. To CAPERNAUM, where he heals Simon's wife's mother.

Mark

- i, 40. He HEALS a LEPER.
- ii, 1. To Capernaum, where he HEALS the PARALYTIC.
 - 14. Teaches by the lake; Levi is called.
 - 23. Teaches in the CORN-FIELD, and heals the withered hand.
- iii, 14. Chooses the Twelve.
- iv, 1. Teaches by the lake; rebukes the storm.
- v, 1. Crosses to the GADARENES, and heals a demoniac.
- vi, 1. To his OWN COUNTRY, and sends forth the Twelve.
 - 31. He feeds the five thousand.
 - 45. He walks on the water.
 - 53. To GENNESARET.
- vii, 24. To TYRE and SIDON.
 - 31. To the LAKE of GALILEE, near Decapolis.
- viii, 1. Feeds the four thousand.
 - 10. To Dalmanutha.
 - 13. To the other side of the lake.
 - 22. To Bethsaida, and heals the blind man.
 - 27. To CÆSAREA PHILIPPI, where he is acknowledged as the Messiah.
- ix, 2. The transfiguration.
 - 33. To CAPERNAUM.
- x, 1. To Judea, by the FURTHER SIDE of the Jordan.
 - 32. Towards JERUSALEM.
 - 46. At JERICHO.
- xi, 1. To BETHPHAGE and Bethany.
 - 11. To JERUSALEM, where he is crucified.
- xvi, 1. He is seen by Mary Magdalene, by two disciples, and then by the Eleven.

Luke

- i, 1. Preface.
 - 5. Zacharias and Elizabeth.
 - 28. The salutation of Mary.
- ii, 1. Jesus is born in Bethlehem.
 - 42. He goes to Jerusalem when twelve years old.

- Luke
- iii, 1. In the fifteenth year of Tiberius he is BAPTIZED by John in the Jordan.
 - 23. The genealogy.
 - iv, 1. He is TEMPTED in the desert.
 - 14. He returns to GALILEE.
 - 16. To Nazareth.
 - 23. (He has been at Capernaum).
 - 31. To CAPERNAUM, where he heals Simon's wife's mother.
 - v, 1. He teaches by the lake; the miraculous draught of fishes.
 - 10. The first three disciples are called.
 - 12. He HEALS a LEPER and a PARALYTIC.
 - 27. Levi is called.
 - vi, 1. He teaches in the CORN-FIELD, and heals the withered hand.
 - 12. The Twelve are chosen and sent forth.
 - 21. The sermon (on the mount).
 - vii, 1. To Capernaum, where he heals the centurion's slave.
 - 11. To Nain, where he heals the widow's son.
 - viii, 1. He preaches through the cities.
 - 22. He crosses the lake, and rebukes the storm.
 - 26. He crosses to the GADARENES, and heals a demoniac.
 - ix, 10. To Bethsaida, where he feeds the five thousand.
 - 18. He is acknowledged as the Messiah.
 - 28. The transfiguration.
 - 51. Towards JERUSALEM.
 - x, 1. The Seventy sent.
 - 30. Parable of the good Samaritan.
 - xvii, 11. Through Samaria and Galilee.
 - xviii, 35. To JERICO.
 - xix, 29. To BETHPHAGE and Bethany.
 - 41. To JERUSALEM, where he is crucified.
 - xxiv, 13. He is seen after his resurrection by Cleopas [James] and another disciple.
 - 36. And by the Eleven.

John

- i, 1. The introduction (i, 18).
- 19. John baptizes in BETHANY BEYOND THE JORDAN, and bears witness that Jesus is the Son of God.
- i, 43. Jesus goes into GALILEE. The marriage in Cana.
- ii, 12. To Capernaum.
- 13. To JERUSALEM, to the PASSOVER; the conversation with Nicodemus.
- iii, 22. Into JUDEA, while John was baptizing in Ænon.
- iv, 5. To SYCHAR in SAMARIA, to Jacob's well.
- 43. Into GALILEE, and heals the nobleman's son.
- v, 1. To JERUSALEM to a FEAST, and heals at the pool of Bethesda.
- vi, 1. He goes BEYOND THE LAKE OF GALILEE, and feeds the five thousand.
- 16. He crosses the lake to CAPERNAUM, walking on the water.
- vii, 1. He goes up to JERUSALEM in the middle of the feast of TABERNACLES, and teaches in the temple.
- x, 22. He is at JERUSALEM at the feast of DEDICATION in the winter, and teaches in the temple.
- 40. He goes to the place BEYOND THE JORDAN, where John at first baptized.
- xi, 1. To BETHANY, NEAR JERUSALEM, to heal Lazarus.
- xii, 1. He arrives six days before the PASSOVER, and then enters JERUSALEM, where he is crucified.
- xx, 11. He is seen after his resurrection by Mary Magdalene;
- 19. And by the disciples without Thomas, and a second time with Thomas;
- xxi. And at the lake of Tiberias by Simon Peter and six others.

ON THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

FIRST; according to the tradition of the Christians, as recorded by Lactantius, who wrote about A.D. 320, and by other Christian writers, the Saviour was crucified in the consulship of the two Gemini, that is, in the spring of the year of our era 29. These consuls held their office from January to Midsummer in that year.

Secondly; Origen, in his answer to Celsus, written about A.D. 220, says that the temple was destroyed by Titus *within* forty-two years of the crucifixion. The destruction took place, according to Josephus, in September, A. D. 70, that is, forty-one years and a half after Easter, A.D. 29, the date of the crucifixion as stated above. These two authorities therefore confirm one another.

Thirdly; the evangelist Luke tells us that the Saviour's baptism by John took place in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. In Rome it was not the custom to date events by the year of an emperor's reign; and in the East, where it was the custom, they counted the years, not from the return of the day of accession, but from the civil new-year's day—a rule which must be attended to, or we shall be a year wrong in our calculation.

Now Augustus died on the 19th of August, A.D. 14. Then began the first year of Tiberius. On the 29th of August or ten days afterwards, fell the new-year's day in Syria, Egypt, and Babylon. Then began the second year of Tiberius, although he had only been emperor for those few days. In this way, the fifteenth of Tiberius began 29th of August, A. D. 27, when he had been emperor only thirteen years and a few days. The baptism was immediately followed by the fasting in the desert, which was probably at the time of the public fast of the Jews. This fixes the time for the beginning of the Saviour's ministry at the autumn of A.D. 27. If we then allow eighteen months for the length of the ministry,

we are brought to Easter, A.D. 29, for the date of the crucifixion, as before.

Fourthly; the evangelist John places the Saviour's driving the dealers out of the temple shortly before the first Passover in his Ministry; but the other evangelists place it shortly before the last Passover. The authority of the three would lead us to believe that the events in John, from ii, 13 to iii, 21, belong to the latter Passover; and the removal of this passage about transactions in Jerusalem is further required by the words which follow it, which say that the Saviour then, and not before, goes into Judea.

The removal of this passage to a later part of the Gospel carries with it an important chronological remark, for it was after driving the dealers out of the temple that the Jews said to the Saviour that the temple of Jerusalem had been forty-and-six years in building. This, then, we must suppose to have been said within a few weeks or days of the crucifixion.

According to Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv, 16, 4), Herod began to reign at the time of the fast, that is, soon after Michaelmas, or at the beginning of the Jewish year, in the consulship of Agrippa and Gallus, or B.C. 37; and he began to rebuild the temple towards the end of the eighteenth year (*Antiq.* xv, 11, 1). This would be about Midsummer in B.C. 18; and forty-six years later brings us to Midsummer in A.D. 28. When the Jews, therefore, speaking shortly before the Passover, said that the temple had already been forty-six years in building, they must have made that remark in the spring of A.D. 29. This, again, fixes that year as the date of the crucifixion.

Fifthly; in the year A.D. 29, the first new moon after the spring equinox fell on the evening of Saturday, the 2nd of April, one hour after sunset in Jerusalem. For this calculation I am indebted to Mr. Adams of Cambridge. The next day, therefore, was the first day of the month of Nisan. Hence, the fourteenth day of Nisan was a Saturday, or Sabbath. That day was the feast of Unleavened Bread, when the Passover was to

be slain, and it was to be eaten that same evening after sunset (*See* Exod. xii, xiii). This gives a full agreement with John's Gospel, where we are told the crucifixion took place on the day before the Passover, on a year when the following day was a High Sabbath, because it was at the same time the Sabbath and the Passover. That day, according to these calculations, was Friday, the 15th of April, A.D. 29.

Here, however, agreement ends and difficulties begin. Matthew, Mark and Luke say that the last supper of our Lord with his disciples was the Passover supper, and that the crucifixion took place after the Passover, and not before the feast, as we read in John. To reconcile the two accounts is hopeless. We must believe that one or other is incorrect; and upon an examination of all particulars, we shall find that more are satisfactorily explained by supposing that the Passover followed the crucifixion, as we are told by John, than by supposing that the Passover supper was before the crucifixion, as stated by the other three. Indeed, the other three evangelists seem to contradict themselves, when they make the Last Supper a Passover supper; and again, when they place the day of Preparation after the Passover, and make it a preparation for the Sabbath. The Last Supper was not eaten as a Passover Supper, in haste, standing, with the loins girded, and staff in hand; *see* Exodus xii, 11; and again, only one preparation service is known to the Jews, namely, that on the search for leaven after sunset, usually twenty-four hours before the Passover supper.

In one point also, the account in John is contradicted by the Jewish tradition. According to the Jews, when the 14th day of the month, the day of the Passover, falls on a Sabbath, then the Preparation, or ceremonial search for leaven, is to take place not on Friday evening, because then the Sabbath has begun and all such work is improper, but one day earlier, namely, on Thursday evening. According to this view of the case, we ought to suppose, after reading John's Gospel alone, that the crucifixion took place on Thursday.

And, lastly, to complete the difficulty, the evangelists, writing about events which happened in Judea, where the evening was counted as the beginning of the day, but writing in Greek and to be understood by Greeks, who counted the evening as the end of the day, have left us in doubt which custom they were following in the use of these most common words. But upon the whole it seems probable that the first three evangelists mean to say, that the crucifixion took place on Thursday before noon, the death on Thursday afternoon, the preparation service on Thursday when the sun set, the burial on Thursday night, and the preparation of spices mentioned by Luke, and application to Pilate for a guard on Friday, but before sunset, when the Sabbath began. From sunset on Friday, to sunset on Saturday, was the Sabbath, when nothing was done, and the preparation of spices, mentioned by Mark, was on Saturday after sunset, when the Sabbath was ended.

The evangelists mention several prophecies relating to the time that passed between the death and resurrection of the Saviour; that the Son of Man was to be three days and three nights in the bowels of the earth (Matt. xii, 41); that he had said he would destroy the temple and build it again in three days (Matt. xxvi, 61); and that he had said, "After three days I am to be raised again," (Matt. xxvii, 63). They considered that these prophecies were all fulfilled. This can hardly have been the case, unless we place the crucifixion on the Thursday; which will allow the Saviour to have remained in the tomb two days and a half.

The day of the crucifixion, therefore, according to the above testimony and calculations, corrected by such conjectures as seem best to reconcile the first three Gospels with the fourth, was Thursday, the 14th of April, A.D. 29.

ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

THIS history clearly declares itself to be the work of Luke, the writer of the third Gospel, by its dedication to the same person, by its calling itself the continuation of a former history, and by its style. It naturally divides itself into two parts. The first contains the events among the Christians in Judea, from the crucifixion till the apostles were scattered by Herod's persecution of the church. Here the circumstances are told as if the writer had not been present, but had his information from others; and we trace many little inaccuracies. The most important of these is his disagreement with the Epistle to the Galatians as to the number and dates of Paul's journeys to Jerusalem. The second part contains the history of Paul's missionary journeys; of his being arrested at Jerusalem and being sent as a prisoner to Rome. In this the writer speaks with greater exactness, as of circumstances for the most part within his own knowledge. It ends abruptly without telling us of the Apostle's fate.

The writer seems to have joined Paul as the companion of his journeys at Troas, in Asia Minor. He had said, "*They* came down to Troas," but, after his joining his party, he says, "*We* sought to go out to Macedonia" (Acts xvi, 8-10). If we may judge by his use of the first person, he did not accompany Paul beyond Philippi. Paul went on through Macedonia to Corinth, and from there sailed for Syria, without returning through Philippi. He went up to Jerusalem, he travelled through Galatia and Phrygia, and returned to Ephesus. From Ephesus, after the riots, he again travelled through Macedonia into Greece, and, on his return from Greece into Macedonia, the writer of the Acts again joined Paul's party in the city of Philippi, where they had before parted company (Acts xx, 5). From Philippi the writer accompanied Paul on his last journey to Jerusalem, and thence attended him while a prisoner to Cæsarea, and on his voyage to Rome.

Luke was with Paul in Rome when the Epistles were written to the Colossians and to Philemon; and, soon afterwards, he was the only companion remaining with him, when the Second Epistle to Timothy was written.

The Acts of the Apostles, as a religious work, is of less value than many other parts of the New Testament; but is of the greatest importance for the evidence of the genuineness of the collection of sacred writings. It forms, with the help of Paul's Epistles, the basis on which we must build to prove the truth of the gospel narratives.

ON THE TWENTY-ONE EPISTLES.

THESE letters contain a variety of religious advice and encouragement, with many commands relating to the management of the churches and the behaviour of the persons to whom they are addressed. From the circumstances mentioned, we can, for the most part, fix the date of each, or, at least, what is more important, the order in which they were written. In this we must be mainly guided by the history of the journeys mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; and as the writers usually state what cities they have lately visited, and, in the greetings, give the names of their companions, there are not many cases in which the determination is doubtful.

It is in the Epistles of Paul that the determination of the date is chiefly valuable, as we thereby gain an insight into the history of the Apostle's opinions, and his change of mind from an earnest attempt to convert the Jews to Christianity, to giving up the task as hopeless. He called himself the Apostle to the Gentiles; but did not mean thereby that he should omit the Jews living among the Gentiles; it was only after some years that he preached to the Gentiles almost exclusively. The Epistles of Paul are the very pillar and support on which the evidences of historic Christianity rest. If we would make use of an ancient writing to prove a

truth in history, we must show not only by whom it was written, and the truthfulness of the writer, but also that it is, for the most part, free from additions and alterations. Now, every one of the four Gospels contains sentences which are evidently additions, and which may perhaps not be the work of its original author. But, in the case of Paul's Epistles, there is not a sentence that betrays another writer; there is not a line that looks like a later addition; the whole of them are marked by the style and the train of thought as the work of one writer. Every opinion and statement contained in these Epistles has the authority of the Apostle Paul as a voucher for its truth.

The chronology of the whole will be best understood, if the later journeys and other events mentioned in the Acts be thrown into the form of a table.

THE ORDER OF THE EPISTLES AS DETERMINED BY PAUL'S JOURNEYS.

The Apostle Paul visits Thessalonica in Macedonia. He teaches in the synagogue, Silas is with him. He leaves because of a riot against him by the Jews. (Acts xvii, 1-10).

He goes to Berea, and teaches in the synagogue. There he leaves Silas and Timothy (Acts xvii, 10-14).

He goes to Athens, and teaches in the synagogue and in the market-place. He sends back a message for Silas and Timothy to follow him. (Acts xvii, 15.)

He goes to Corinth, and teaches in the synagogue, till driven to teach in a house near. He meets with Priscilla and Aquilas. Silas and Timothy join him from Macedonia. (Acts xviii, 1-7.) A.D. 51.

The above-mentioned journey of Timothy seems to be that described as his first mission to Thessalonica, in 1 Thess. iii, 1.

At Cenchrea, the port of Corinth, Paul shaves his head. From thence he sails for Syria, taking with him Priscilla and Aquilas. (Acts xviii, 18.)

He comes to Ephesus, and leaves Priscilla and Aquilas. He teaches in the synagogue. (Acts xviii, 19.)

Thence he sails to Cæsarea, where he lands, and goes up [to Jerusalem] and salutes the church, and then goes to Antioch. (Acts xviii, 22.)

He makes a journey through Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening the disciples. (Acts xviii, 23.)

(He had visited those churches a few years before—xvi, 6.)

He returns to Ephesus soon after Apollos had gone from that city to Corinth. (Acts xix, 1.) A.D. 53.

There he preaches for three month in the synagogue. (Acts xix, 8.)

The Epistle to the Romans is written (omitting chaps. xii, 1—xv, 7, and xvi, 1—27, which are no part of it). It is addressed to Jews, and he hopes soon to visit them in Rome.

He is driven by the Jews to leave the synagogue, and he teaches for two years in the school of Tyrannus. (Acts xix, 9, 10.)

He declares his purpose of going through Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem, and then to Rome. (Acts xix, 21.)

He sends Timothy and Erastus forward into Macedonia. (Acts xix, 22.)

This is Timothy's second mission to Thessalonica, as mentioned in 1 Thess. iii, 6.

The First Epistle to the Corinthians is written after Timothy was sent forward, and after Apollos had been in Corinth. It mentions Paul's proposed journey through Macedonia to Jerusalem. Aquilas and Priscilla are with him.

After the dangerous riots in Ephesus, Paul goes to Macedonia. (Acts xx, 1.) A.D. 56.

Paul may now have passed through Troas, as mentioned in 2 Corinth. ii, 12.

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians is written after the riots in Ephesus, and after passing through Troas.

The Epistle of James is written after Paul's Epistle to the Romans had been made public, and before the Epistle to the Galatians.

Paul may now have been hindered from visiting Thessalonica, as mentioned in 1 Thess. ii, 18.

From Macedonia Paul goes into Greece (Acts xx, 2). Here his companions were, Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, and Trophimus. (Acts xx, 4.)

An Epistle to the Ephesians is written, being chaps. xii, 1—xv, 7, and xvi, 1—27, of the Epistle to the Romans. Timothy, Sosipater, Gaius, and Erastus, are with him. It is addressed to Pagan converts for the most part, and greets twenty-six friends by name, including Aquilas and Priscilla.

The Epistle to the Galatians is written after the Epistle of James, after two visits to Galatia. He strongly blames the Judaizing Christians.

When Paul left Corinth, Erastus may have remained behind, as mentioned in 2 Tim. iv, 20.

From Greece Paul hurries away to avoid a plot of the Jews. He passes through Macedonia and comes to Philippi. (Acts xx, 3—6.) A.D. 57.

On this journey he may have been a second time hindered from visiting Thessalonica, as mentioned in 1 Thess. ii, 18.

The First Epistle to the Thessalonians is written after Timothy had been twice sent to visit them, and Paul had been twice hindered by Satan. It strongly reproaches the Jews.

The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians is written about the same time.

From Philippi Paul sails to Troas. (Acts xx, 6.)

Then he may have left with Carpus a travelling-bag, with books and parchments. (2 Tim. iv, 13.)

[Having thus lightened his bundle,] from Troas he walks to Assos. (Acts xx, 14.)

He sails to Mitelene, and thence to Miletus. (Acts xx, 15.)

Then he may have left his travelling companion, Trophimus, behind sick. (2 Tim. iv, 20.)

From Miletus he sails to Ptolemais and Cæsarea, and thence goes up to Jerusalem. (Acts xxi, 1—17.) A.D. 58.

At Jerusalem he is arrested and sent as a prisoner to Cæsarea, where Felix, the governor, dwelt. (Acts xxiii.)

There he remains a prisoner till Festus, the new governor, sends him to Rome, in the year A.D. 60. (Acts xxvii, 1.)

His friends are allowed to accompany him on the voyage. (Acts xxvii, 2.)

His ship touches at Sidon, where he is allowed to land and visit friends. (Acts xxvii, 3.)

Thence he reaches Myra, in Lycia, where he is put on board another ship. (Acts xxvii, 5-6.)

This ship touches at Fair Havens, near Lasea, in the island of Crete. (Acts xxvii, 8.)

Here the Apostle may have left Titus to appoint elders in each city. (Titus i, 5.)

After sailing from Crete, the ship is wrecked on the island of Malta. (Acts xxviii, 1.)

A third ship carries the Apostle, with the other prisoners and his friends, to Puteoli, from whence he is taken by land to Rome. (Acts xxviii, 11-16). A.D. 61.

The Epistle to the Colossians is written while the same friends are with him. It is sent by the hands of Tychicus travelling with Onesimus.

The Epistle to the Laodiceans (commonly called to the Ephesians) is written at the same time with the last, and sent by Tychicus.

The Epistle to Philemon is written while the Apostle is a prisoner in Rome. Timothy, Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke, are with him. It is sent by the hands of Onesimus.

The Apostle hopes soon to be released from prison, and to visit Philemon at Colossæ. (Philem. 22.)

The Epistle to the Philippians is written while he is a prisoner, but in hopes of his release; and it is sent by Epaphroditus. (Philip. ii, 25.)

The Apostle proposes soon to send Timothy to Philippi. (Philip. ii, 19.)

The Second Epistle to Timothy is written from Rome to Ephesus, after sending Tychicus to Ephesus (no doubt on his way to Colossæ and

Laodicea). Titus is now in Dalmatia. Mark is no longer with Paul. Luke is with him.

The First Epistle of Peter is written about A.D. 62. The writer is at Babylon, Mark is with him. It is sent by Sylvanus to the Jewish converts in Asia Minor.

Mark died in the eighth year of Nero's reign A.D. 62, according to Eusebius.

Paul is released from prison, perhaps in A.D. 63.

The Epistle to Titus is written after the Apostle's release from prison. He proposes to spend the winter at Nicopolis, in Epirus.

The First Epistle to Timothy is written after Paul had lately gone to Macedonia, and while Timothy was still in Ephesus. A.D. 64.

The Book of Revelation is written A.D. 69, in the reign of Vespasian, immediately before the destruction of the temple.

The Epistle of Jude is written to the Jewish Christians, perhaps of Assyria, about A.D. 70.

Jerusalem is taken by the Romans A.D. 70.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is written.

The Second and Third Epistles of John are written, probably from Ephesus to Corinth, after Paul's death.

The First Epistle of John is written, probably to the church among which he was dwelling.

The Second Epistle of Peter is written by some unknown writer some years later.

ON PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

THE ancient MSS. do not authorise us to make any great change in this Epistle beyond removing the last three verses from the end of chap. xvi. to the end of chap. xiv; but this shows that at some very early time it had been badly edited. It seems probable that it is formed of two Epistles joined together. If we judge the aim and meaning of the parts, and thus venture to divide them, we may suppose, that while the first was

written to the Christian church in Rome, to men of Jewish blood and prejudices, and personally unknown to the writer, the second was written to another Christian church, formed chiefly of Gentiles, and many of them his intimate friends. If we judge from the names of the friends greeted, this latter church was at Ephesus. The Epistle to the Romans may consist of the first eleven chapters, together with the last half of chap. xv, beginning at verse 8. The rest may be an Epistle to the Ephesians.

Chaps. i-xi, and xv, 8-33.—To the Romans Paul writes as to men not less acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures than himself, and far more literally strict in the interpretation of them. He does not speak as with authority, but reasons with them as men who are to be convinced, and as men whose prejudices were strongly against considering Gentiles as receivers with themselves of God's grace; and yet the Apostle himself thinks that salvation through the Gospel is for the Jew first, and only secondly for the Gentiles (i, 16).

To remove these Jewish prejudices by arguments fitted for the Jewish mind, and by the authority of quotation from the Hebrew Scriptures, is the object of the Epistle. He recounts the wickedness of the Gentiles in old times (i, 30), and the hard-heartedness of the Jews, and adds, that punishment will fall on the Jews first, and only secondly on the Gentiles (ii, 11). Those who sin without having a law will be punished without a law; and those who sin under the Law will be punished under the Law (ii, 16). The Jew must perform the duties which he teaches; and outward rites alone without inward purity will not make a true Jew (ii, 29).

Nevertheless, the Jew has his advantages; the Scriptures were intrusted to him. But he will not be justified by ceremonial works of the Law, but by faith in God. That righteousness by faith will justify a man was shown in the case of Abraham, who was not under the Law when he received the promises. And righteousness will be counted on all who believe in God, who raised up Jesus from the dead (iv).

Christ died to reconcile us to God (v, 11); and as Adam's transgression made all men sinners, so Christ's obedience made all men righteous (v, 21). We must not, however, continue in sin in order to try God's grace. Though no longer under a law, but under grace, those that sin are slaves to sin; and the wages of sin is death (vi).

It is a relief to be freed from the Law by Christ's death, not that the Law was sinful, but that our carnal minds led us to disobey it (vii); whereas, if the spirit of Christ be in us, we are become alive unto righteousness (viii, 10); and we now suffer for Christ because with Christ we are jointly children of God (viii, 17). These sufferings are far short of the glory reserved for us if we continue in Christ; but the Apostle would wish himself accursed and lost to the blessings of Christianity if thereby he could save his brethren, the Israelites, of whom Christ was one, and to whom the promises were given (ix, 5).

And God's promises to the Israelites will not fail; but the prophets have added, that he will call others to righteousness as well as the chosen people (ix, 29). For many of the Israelites have not obeyed the Law; and of the Gentiles, whoever doeth righteousness is righteous (x, xi, 22). But at last all will be saved, and, as it is written, "Out of Zion will come the deliverer." Such are the riches and unsearchable ways of God's judgments (xi, 36).

The Apostle then apologises for having been thus bold with them in argument, and adds that he hopes soon to see them on his way to Spain (xv, 8-33).

[This Epistle to the Romans was probably written at Ephesus, as it was in that city that the Apostle Paul formed the plan here mentioned, of going to Rome after he had first visited Jerusalem (*See Acts xix, 21*). He had been teaching for three months in the Jewish synagogue in Ephesus, but then removed to the school of Tyrannus, where he taught daily for two years (*See Acts xix, 8-10*). This removal of the Apostle from the synagogue to a Pagan school of philosophy was probably

caused by his want of success in preaching to the Jews, and it is natural to suppose that the Epistle to the Romans was written before that removal, that is to say, before he found that the arguments with which the Epistle abounds were wholly wasted on his countrymen. It was also written sufficiently early to have become public, and given rise to the Epistle of the Apostle James, which again gave rise to Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. It was, indeed, the earliest of his Epistles, and is, accordingly, that which is most full of quotations from the Old Testament.]

Chaps. xii—xv, 7, and xvi, *being an Epistle to the Ephesians*.—In the four chapters and a half which seem not to belong to this argumentative Epistle to the Jewish church in Rome, the Apostle writes to a church of Jewish and Gentile converts united. To these he speaks with authority, as an old acquaintance. He exhorts them to devotion towards God, to purity of life, to humility, to fulfilling properly the duties to which God has fitted each, to forgiveness (xii), to obedience to all in authority, and to brotherly love (xiii, 16).

Here the Gentile converts seem more numerous than the Jewish. He desires them to avoid disputes about their differences of opinion, whether as to food that was thought clean or unclean, or as to days that were holy or unholy. He recommends peace and mutual forbearance (xiv). The Gentiles, who seem to be the majority, should have a regard to the scruples of the Jews. The strong-minded who feel free from traditional prejudices should bear with the weak and more scrupulous. He prays God that they may have patience one with another (xv, 13).

The Apostle sends the Epistle by the hands of Phœbe, a servant of the church at Cenchreæ, [near Corinth. From this latter city he was probably writing, as he sends the greeting of his host, Gaius, who lived there. (See 1 Cor. i, 14).

That he was writing to Ephesus is chiefly shown by his greeting Aquilas, a Roman Jew, and his wife, Priscilla, or Prisca, and the church that met for worship

in their house. It was at Ephesus that these zealous converts so received their fellow-worshippers. (*See Acts xviii, 19, and 1 Cor. xvi, 19*). Epenetus, the first fruits of Asia, of course lived in that neighbourhood. Andronicus and Junias, his fellow-prisoners, lived in some city where Paul had already suffered imprisonment, of which Ephesus was one. The affectionate greeting to so many others, whom he calls his fellow-labourers, particularly Mary and Rufus's mother, prove at least that he was writing to a city in which he had dwelt for some months or years. At Ephesus we know that he had once lived for three years (*See Acts xx, 31*); whereas at Rome, when he afterwards arrived there, he had not any acquaintance.

It may be, because this Epistle to the Ephesians had been lost by being thus joined on to that to the Romans, that the Epistle to the Laodiceans received the name of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THIS Epistle was written in answer to one from the Corinthian church, which was sent to inquire of the Apostle about some points of conduct that had caused divisions among them. These were about marriage and divorce, about eating meat that had been offered to Pagan idols, and about spiritual gifts. The Apostle also rebukes them for their faults, for their division into sects, for their not putting a sinner out of their church, and for their going to law with one another; and he gives directions about their collecting money for the poor Christians of Jerusalem.

The four sects into which the Corinthians were divided were:—1st, those who followed the more philosophic and learned Apollos; 2nd, those who followed Peter and refused to admit Pagan converts to an equality with the Jewish converts; 3rd, those who followed Paul in admitting the Pagan converts to that equality; and 4th,

a party who called themselves Christ's, and perhaps denied the authority of the Apostles, or at least of Paul.

The Epistle contains some quotations from that which the Corinthians had written. These are, "All things are lawful to me" (chap. vi, 12, and x, 23); "Meats are for the belly, and the belly for meats" (vi, 13); "We know," and, "We all have knowledge," (viii, 1); "We know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one. For though there be what are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be gods many and lords many), yet to us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we for him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through him" (viii, 4-6); "And meat bringeth us not before God; for neither if we eat are we the better: nor if we eat not are we the worse" (viii, 8). Against the vain boasting of these remarks the Apostle argues.

The Epistle was written from Ephesus, after Timothy had been sent forward into Macedonia, as mentioned in Acts xix, 22.

ON THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

AFTER writing his First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Apostle was driven away from Ephesus by the riots raised against him by the Pagans. He then departed for Macedonia, as mentioned in Acts xx, 1. He must have passed through Troas, and from thence crossed by ship to Philippi on the coast of Macedonia. He had sent forward Titus to Corinth to inquire about the church, and here Titus met him on his return (chap. vii, 5, 6). From hence he wrote this Second Epistle, which he sent by Titus, with some companions who were to collect money for the poor Christians of Jerusalem (viii, 18-23).

In this Second Epistle, Paul's chief anxiety is lest his Corinthian converts should be misled by the Judaizing party, the Israelites, whose minds are still blinded

by a veil which lies between their hearts and the reading of the Old Covenant (iii, 14). One of this party had probably been among them, introduced by letters from the Apostles in Jerusalem (iii, 1). And a second teacher of the same party was expected in Corinth, and against him Paul gives them a special warning (xi, 4), declaring of himself that he is as good as the very best of the Apostles (xi, 5).

Out of respect to the teacher who was coming to Corinth, Paul does not add his name. He was perhaps one of the twelve Apostles. Or he was perhaps Barnabas, who had accepted with Paul the charge of preaching among the Greeks, and had then quarrelled with him (Acts xv, 39). And this indeed is made probable by the warning which Paul afterwards gave to the Colossians against Barnabas (Colos. iv, 10).

ON THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

THERE were two Apostles of the name of James; James the elder, the son of Zebedee and brother of John (Matt. x, 2); and James the less, the son of Alphæus (Matt. x, 3) and brother of Joses and Judas and Simon (Mark xv, 40; Acts i, 13; Matt. xiii, 55). As James the less was a son of Mary, a sister of Jesus's mother (Matt. xxvii, 56, and John xix, 25), he is often called the brother of the Lord. James the elder was put to death by Herod Agrippa in the first persecution (Acts xii, 1), and therefore could not be the writer of this Epistle. James the less was some time afterwards present with Peter, and John, and Paul, and Barnabas, at the first council in Jerusalem; and it was his zeal for Judaism which swayed Peter's mind when he would not eat with Gentiles (Gal. ii, 9-12). To this latter James the Epistle has usually been given, and with his character it well agrees.

This James was probably the same person as Cleopas, because Matthew, Mark, and Luke, all say that Mary

Magdalene at the tomb was accompanied by Mary the [mother] of James, meaning the wife of Alphæus, Jesus's mother's sister; and John says that the Magdalene at the cross was accompanied by Cleopas's Mary, Jesus's mother's sister. Hence, either Alphæus, the husband of this Mary, Jesus's mother's sister, or James, her son, must also have borne the name of Cleopas. Again, Luke says that Jesus after his resurrection was seen by Cleopas, on the road to Emmaus; and Paul (1 Cor. xv, 7), who probably had his information from Luke, says that Jesus had been seen by James. This passage of Paul can hardly be explained, except by supposing that Cleopas and James were one and the same person. Moreover, Cleopas is a Greek translation of the Hebrew name Jacob, Jacobus, or James. They both mean *a thief* or *one that supplanteth*.

The Epistle is addressed to the Israelites of the Dispersion, and was probably written in Jerusalem. It exhorts to prayer, to humility, to bridling the tongue, to living peaceably, and to waiting patiently for the coming of the Lord. But the most important part of it is the latter half of the second chapter, which is controversial, and on the value of faith. Paul had lately written his Epistle to the Jews living in Rome, wherein he had argued against the value of the ceremonial works of the Jewish law, and in praise of faith in Jesus (Rom. iii, 20-26). He had quoted the case of Abraham, whose faith in God was counted as righteousness (iv, 3), and thus concluded that Christians were to be justified by faith (v, 1). This reasoning may easily have led many to think lightly of good actions. Paul's argument against ceremonial works may have been turned against moral works; and his praise of faith, meaning trust, may have been understood for faith meaning belief. Against this mistake the Apostle James writes; and he probably had Paul's Epistle in his hands. He says that faith without actions is dead; Abraham believed God, but he was justified by the conduct which followed upon that belief.

Language is hardly exact enough for controversies

such as these; words are often understood by a reader in a sense different from that meant by the writer. As the words of Paul may have led some to undervalue moral works, so the words of James may have led others to place trust in ceremonial works. This may have been the case with some Jews of Galatia in Asia Minor; and accordingly Paul soon afterwards, in his Epistle to the Galatians, returns again to the case of Abraham's faith, and not without some sharpness against Peter and James.

This Epistle was probably written A.D. 57. Its Greek is the most pure of any in the New Testament. It has but few Hebraisms, while its style reminds us of the beauties of the Hebrew prophets. Its sentences are short and plain, and without parenthesis, and rich in those figures of speech which mark the true orator.

ON THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.

IN the first of these Epistles, the Apostle mentions his having been forced to leave the city of Thessalonica at an hour's warning, his consenting to be alone in Athens, in order that Timothy might again visit the Thessalonians and encourage them in their faith, and Timothy's return to him. Now, in Acts xviii, 1-5, we find an account of Timothy's first rejoining the Apostle from Macedonia. This was at Corinth, and at that time the Epistle may possibly have been written.

But the Epistle also mentions the Apostle having wished to revisit the Thessalonians *once and again*, and being hindered by wicked men; and when it speaks of Timothy's return from Thessalonica, it seems to speak as if he had been twice sent there, the second time to know the strength of their faith when temptations might have misled them. Now, in Acts xix, 22—xx, 5, we find that Timothy was sent a second time into Macedonia, when he may perhaps have visited Thessalonica; Paul then follows him through Macedonia, when the Apostle may perhaps have been the first time

hindered from visiting that city; and then the two meet in Greece, which would be Timothy's second rejoining Paul from Macedonia. After this Paul again travels with Timothy through Macedonia, when he may have been a second time hindered from visiting the Thessalonians. He then made some stay at Philippi, and at this time it seems probable that he wrote the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, rather than four or five years earlier from Corinth.

The severe tone of the writer with respect to the Jews, and his hopelessness as to being able to be of use in converting them to Christianity, are strongly in favour of the later of these two dates for the Epistle. Since Paul's first visit to Corinth above spoken of, he had taught in the Jewish synagogue in Ephesus (Acts xviii, 19); he had visited the church of Jewish Christians at Jerusalem (Acts xviii, 22); he had again taught for three months in the synagogue in Ephesus (Acts xix, 8); he had written his Epistle to the Romans, containing arguments wholly addressed to the Jews; and he had then found it necessary to leave the synagogue to teach in the Pagan school (Acts xix, 9). He had also written the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and perhaps that to the Galatians, all full of arguments addressed to Jews; whereas this Epistle to the Thessalonians does not contain a single quotation from the Old Testament, and speaks of the Jews as persecutors of the church in Jerusalem, as displeasing to God, contrary to all men, and as deserving wrath to the utmost.

The main object of the letter was to relieve the Christians of Thessalonica from an anxiety which they felt in consequence of the delay in the second coming of Jesus from heaven. They had expected it to take place before this time, and they feared that such of their friends who had died since their conversion might in consequence of that delay lose the benefit of his presence. But Paul tells them that they are mistaken, and that at the Lord's coming, first the dead will arise to earth, and then they and the living will be taken up to heaven together.

The Second Epistle is on nearly the same subject as the First. The Apostle repeats his assurance of the coming sooner or later of the Lord Jesus, who will comfort them for their sufferings, and take vengeance on those who will not hearken to the Good Tidings. It seems that the Thessalonians had been reading some writings purporting to be by the Apostle Paul, which had led them to suppose that this coming of the Lord was close at hand. This may perhaps have been the 15th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. But the Apostle tells them that, first, the falling away must come, and then the cheats of a certain man of sin be laid bare before they will see the second coming of Jesus.

The man of sin here spoken of, who, while Paul was writing, was opposing himself to everything that ought to be worshipped, and setting himself up as a god, may have been Apollonius of Tyana. He had lately returned from Babylon, was at this time travelling and teaching through Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Athens, and Crete, and was very successful in cheating a crowd of followers by his magical arts and pretended miracles. Thirteen years later he is spoken of as the False Prophet in the Book of Revelations xix, 20.

This Epistle agrees in matter so closely with the former, that we must believe them both written within a very short space of time. And this makes it probable that it was written from some place like Philippi not very far distant; so that the Apostle could send the first, receive an answer, and write the second while the same thoughts were in his mind.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

THIS Epistle is written in disappointment, or rather in anger, at hearing that the Galatians were being misled by some new teachers, who required them to adopt the ceremonies of the Jewish law as a necessary part of

Christianity. Paul had twice visited them and formed among them a church, for the most part of Pagan converts, but with some Jews among them (*See Acts xvi, 6, and xviii, 23*). Since that time he had written his Epistle to the Romans, strongly declaring the little worth of the ceremonial works of the Law, and explaining his argument by the history of Abraham, who, he said, was justified by his faith. This Epistle, or a misunderstanding arising from it, had called forth the Epistle of James, in which that Apostle warns the Jews of the Dispersion of the danger of despising moral goodness, and tells them that faith without works is dead. And, in answer to Paul's argument, he says, that Abraham was justified by his works, not by his faith. This Epistle of James had probably been read by some of the Galatians; and the Jews among them had probably made use of it in their endeavours to persuade the Pagan converts that Judaism was a necessary step to Christianity, and more particularly that they ought to submit to the rite of circumcision. Paul had heard of this attempt to bring the Galatian Christians under ceremonial bondage, and, accordingly, he writes to recall them to those opinions which he had at first taught among them.

He says that he had been himself a most zealous Jew before his conversion, and that he was taught Christianity from heaven, not by the companions of the Saviour; that when he had not even seen any of the Apostles, except Peter and James for fifteen days, he preached Christianity through Syria and Cilicia; and that when he again saw them at Jerusalem he learned nothing from them; and that Peter himself, when at Antioch, kept company with Gentile Christians, until frightened by some persons who came from James. He then argues that Abraham was justified by his faith. He warns them of the folly of wishing to come under the Law, and shows that if they justify themselves by the Law they have fallen from grace.

There is very little to fix the date of this Epistle. It was written when Paul had many companions, as he

sends the greeting of "all the brethren that are with me." And as we must allow many months to have passed between the writing of the Epistle to the Romans and that of James, and again many months between the Epistle of James and that to the Galatians, it can hardly have been written much before his last hurried journey from Greece through Macedonia and Asia to Jerusalem. He then travelled with only two companions, Sopater and the writer of Acts. He had sent six other friends before him to Troas (Acts xx, 3-5). Till he came to Philippi he was journeying towards Galatia; he there had to turn southward, and from that city he perhaps sent off his Epistle to the Galatians, which may have been written in Greece before the six companions left him.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

WHILE Paul was a prisoner at Rome he was visited by Epaphras or Epaphroditus, who had been employed in building up a Christian church at Colossæ in the Roman province of Asia. Paul himself had never been at Colossæ, but we may suppose that he sent Epaphras there to make converts to Christianity; and Epaphras has now followed him to Rome to give an account of his success. Thereupon, the Apostle writes to them this Epistle to encourage them to faith and to warn them against false doctrine. The Apostle warns them against Greek philosophy and Jewish tradition, against being made the slaves of meats or Sabbaths, and against the worship of angels. These were the opinions of the Alexandrian Jews. They may perhaps have been among the doctrines taught by Apollos of Alexandria, or Barnabas of Cyprus, and they show themselves in the Epistle to the Hebrews. They were not far removed from the doctrines of the Gnostics; and to warn the Colossians against these errors was the chief aim of Paul's Epistle.

From the greetings at the end of the Epistle we may guess who was the teacher of these opinions, against whom Paul wished to warn the church of Colossæ. When he mentions Mark, he describes him as the cousin of Barnabas. So then it appears that Barnabas was already known to them. At the mention of Barnabas, he adds, "about whom ye have received commands." These commands respecting Barnabas, which had probably been given by Epaphras, Paul thus confirms; and that they were painful commands is proved by his avoiding the particulars, and also by his adding, as though to soften them, the words "if he come to you, receive him." Paul, we may remember, had quarrelled with Barnabas several years before at Antioch (Acts xv, 39), and had never since laboured with him in the cause of Christianity.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE LAODICEANS,

Commonly called THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

THIS was written to a church formed wholly of Gentile converts. It contains little more than such encouragement and advice as might be written to any church of Gentile converts about which the writer knew but little. It was a church that Paul himself had never visited, and therefore it could not have been to the Ephesians. Such a church was that at Laodicea (*See* Coloss. ii, 1).

Paul, at the end of his Epistle to the Colossians, tells them, when they have read it, to send it to the church at Laodicea, that it may be read there, and at the same time to read another Epistle which will be sent from Laodicea to them. Our Epistle, entitled "to the Ephesians," seems to be the Epistle spoken of by Paul. Our two Epistles, that to the Colossians and this, called to the Ephesians, agree so much in matter, and even in words, as to prove that they were both written at the same time. They were both sent by the hands of Tychicus; and the two towns were within a few miles

of one another; and the bearer must have passed through Ephesus in his way to them. Ephesus, indeed, was the capital of the Roman province of Asia. When copies of the Epistles were circulated among the neighbouring churches, they would be chiefly found at Ephesus; and hence may have arisen the mistake in the title of that to the Laodiceans.

In chap. v the Apostle quotes three lines of Greek poetry;

“Awake thyself O sleeper,
And arise from among the dead,
And Christ will give thee light.”

This is in Iambic verse. The thought seems borrowed from the words of the later Isaiah in chap. lii. It is the earliest Christian poem known to us.

ON THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

WHILE Paul was living a prisoner at Rome he was assisted by a runaway Asiatic slave, named Onesimus. He converted him to Christianity, and persuaded him that he had done wrong to leave his master, who was named Philemon, and who was a member of the Christian church at Colossæ. Paul was now sending a letter to Colossæ by the hands of Tychicus, and he persuaded Onesimus to return home with Tychicus. At the same time he wrote this short but moving Epistle to Philemon, begging him to receive back the runaway slave without punishment, and to forgive him what he had stolen; and he added, in what was probably a legal form of words, “If he oweth thee aught, put that to my account; I, Paul, have written it with my own hand, I will repay it.”

Paul had never been at Colossæ, and had probably never seen Philemon. He calls him his beloved fellow-labourer, because he had heard of his zeal in the cause of Christianity; and when he speaks of Philemon owing to him even his ownself, he probably means that he had been the cause of his conversion to Christianity by means of Epaphras whom he had sent to preach there.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

THIS Epistle, unlike some of the others, contains very little of blame or controversial arguments. It is written to a church which the Apostle had often visited on his journeys, and which had several times sent him money to relieve his necessities while he was preaching the good tidings in the neighbouring cities. And now that he was a prisoner at Rome they had sent Epaphroditus to him with a further supply. Epaphroditus, who is also called Epaphras had been in Rome many months. He had arrived there before the Epistles to Philemon, to the Colossians, and to the Laodiceans were written. He had fallen ill. His friends at Philippi had heard of his illness, and he had heard of their anxiety for his health. And now at length Paul sends him back to Philippi as the bearer of this letter, overflowing with thanks for their generosity. The Apostle says that he means soon to send Timothy to them, and hopes that he shall himself be soon released from prison and able to visit them.

ON THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

THIS was written after Paul had been tried in Rome, and when he was "delivered out of the lion's mouth." But it is not clear that he was thereupon set free, for he continues to call himself a prisoner, and adds, in low spirits, that he has fought the good fight, he has finished his course, and is ready to be offered up. He, however, tells Timothy to come to him before the winter, and to bring with him the books and parchments which he left at Troas when last there. It was from Troas that he walked to Assos (Acts xx, 14), and therefore he may then have left his books behind to lighten his bundle.

He mentions Timothy's tears at parting; and all his advice to him shows the affection of a father towards a son who had quitted his side almost for the first time.

Moreover, this Epistle was written soon after those to Colossæ and Laodicea (or Ephesus), as those were sent by the hands of Tychicus, whose departure is here spoken of; and also soon after that to the Philippians, as that mentions his intention of sending Timothy away. The Epistle, therefore, was written during Paul's first residence in Rome, if indeed he ever was in that city a second time. The greeting to Prisca and Aquilas tells us that Timothy was then in Ephesus.

The Apostle wishes Mark to come to him. This epistle therefore could not be later than the eighth year of Nero's reign A.D. 62, when, according to Eusebius, Mark the Evangelist died; unless indeed we suppose with some critics, to escape this difficulty, that Mark the friend of Paul, and Mark the Evangelist, were two different persons.

The only difficulty in our view of the case, indeed the only reason for the more common opinion that this Epistle was written some years later, and after a second journey to Rome is, that Paul mentions leaving Trophimus behind at Miletus as if he had not seen him since. But from Acts xxi, 29, it would seem that Trophimus, if left at Miletus just before the well-known journey to Rome, must have followed the Apostle, and been with him in Jerusalem. This slight contradiction, however, which may have arisen from a forgetfulness either on the part of Luke when writing the Acts, or of Paul when writing his Epistle, can by no means justify two such bold suppositions as that the Apostle a second time travelled over the same journey from Miletus to Jerusalem, and thence a second time as a prisoner to Rome; and that Mark, the friend of Paul, was a different person from Mark the Evangelist and friend of Peter.

ON THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

THIS Epistle agrees so closely in its thoughts and words with those to Timothy that we must suppose that they were all three written nearly at the same time. The political difficulties of the times made it unsafe for Paul to write about his trial or imprisonment; but as he proposes to winter in Nicopolis, a city of Epirus, he had certainly been released from prison. His only mention of politics is an exhortation to be obedient to the powers and to obey the authorities.

He mentions his having left Titus in Crete, which was, no doubt, when he touched there on his voyage to Rome as a prisoner. On that occasion he sailed in a trading vessel; and many of his friends accompanied him as fellow passengers.

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

THAT this was written at a later time than the Second Epistle appears from the higher duties which Timothy now undertakes in regulating churches and ordaining presbyters. Moreover, in this the writer refers to the former. He had there written, "Alexander, the copper-smith, did me much wrong; may the Lord reward him according to his works." And here he says, "that he had delivered Hymenæus and Alexander over to Satan that they might be taught not to blaspheme." And the former prophecies of Timothy's trustworthiness here spoken of seem to mean those made by Paul in the other Epistle.

When this was written Timothy was still in Ephesus; Paul had himself been there, and was gone into Macedonia. This seems to be the last mention of Paul's movements that we find in the New Testament.

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER.

THE Apostle Peter was the first to preach the Gospel in Jerusalem after the crucifixion (Acts ii, 14). In consequence of his zeal in preaching the resurrection from the dead, he was three times taken into custody by the chief priest in authority, who happened that year to belong to the sect of Sadducees (Acts iv, 1; v. 18-26); but when brought before the high council he was released by the advice of Gamaliel, the celebrated teacher of the Law, who belonged to the rival sect of Pharisees (Acts v, 34). The Pharisees at all times formed the majority in the high council, and they were perhaps not unwilling to decide against the wishes of the chief priest, who was a Sadducee. Soon after the murder of Stephen and the persecution of the Christians in Jerusalem, Peter went down to Samaria, where he met with Simon Magus (Acts viii). He then went through Lydda to Joppa and Cæsarea on the coast (Acts ix, x). On his return to Jerusalem he was visited by the Apostle Paul, who dwelt with him for fifteen days (Gal. i, 18). This was in the year A. D. 42, three years after Paul's conversion. After some time Peter was again put into prison by King Herod Agrippa; but he escaped and departed privately (Acts xii). This was in the year A. D. 45, shortly before the death of Herod.

For the next seven years we know nothing of Peter till we meet with him again in Jerusalem among the elders and other Apostles, when Paul and Barnabas were sent up from Antioch to inquire how much of the Jewish law they ought to enforce upon the Christians. This first of Christian councils then made a useful compromise between the Jewish and the Gentile parties; and by the advice of Peter, but probably against the opinion of James, it decided not to put upon the Gentile converts a yoke which the Jews themselves were hardly able to bear (Acts xv, 7). On this occasion it was agreed among the Apostles, in order to avoid future

differences, that while James, and Peter, and John went as preachers among the Jews, Paul and Barnabas should address themselves to the Gentiles (Gal. ii, 9).

Shortly afterwards Peter passed through Antioch, and while there received from Paul a deserved rebuke for his want of moral courage. For at first, like Paul, he did not refuse to eat with the Gentile converts; but on the arrival of certain persons from James, who was much more zealous for the Jewish traditions, Peter separated himself from his Gentile friends (Gal. ii, 11).

These are the last notices that we find in the New Testament respecting Peter's movements; and it was no doubt after this visit to Antioch that he travelled through Syria and Mesopotamia to what was once the great city of Babylon. These were the countries in which the greatest number of Jews were to be found out of Palestine; and therefore, in the spirit of his agreement with Paul, when Paul went westward on his missionary tour to the Gentiles, Peter went eastward.

From Babylon Peter wrote the first Epistle which bears his name. In this also he only addresses himself to Jewish converts, "the Pilgrims of the Dispersion" (as Jews out of Palestine were usually called), who were dwelling in Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. It does not appear that he had ever visited those churches, or was acquainted with the persons to whom he was writing; but he sends his letter by the hands of Silvanus, who probably was acquainted with many of them. He exhorts them to patience under their persecutions, to the performance of their duties, and to trust in the Jewish and Christian promises. He reminds them that they are "a holy nation, a people for a purpose" (ii, 9), and ends with assuring them that they were standing in the true grace of God.

ON THE EPISTLE OF JUDE.

THIS Epistle was written by Judas, the brother of James; but he does not call himself either an Apostle or a brother of the Lord. Hence a difficulty about the person.

In the list of Apostles given to us by Matthew and Mark we find no Judas, except the Iscariot; but we find the name of Lebbæus, surnamed Thaddæus (Matt. x, 3; Mark iii, 18). But Luke, in his list of the Apostles, instead of Lebbæus, has the name of Judas, the brother of James. John also (xiv, 22), and the writer of the Acts (i, 13), both mention Judas, the brother of James, among the Apostles; hence many critics, unwilling to believe that the Evangelists contradict one another, have fancied that Lebbæus, surnamed Thaddæus, was the same person as Judas, the brother of James.

Again, Judas is sometimes called the brother of Jesus (Matt. xiii, 55), and, by a comparison of other passages (see notes on the Epistle of James), he is shown to be the son of Alphæus and of Mary, the sister of Jesus's mother. Hence critics, not willing to believe that the word brother may mean cousin or other relation, have thought that Judas, the brother of the Lord, and Judas, the brother of James, were two different persons.

The more probable solution of these difficulties is, that Luke and John are wrong in calling Judas, the brother of James, an Apostle—he was only an Apostle in the same sense that Paul was an Apostle; and that Matthew would be more correct if he had called James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas cousins of the Lord, instead of brethren. This agrees with the first verse of the Epistle, where the writer styles himself a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James, without any other title.

This Epistle is one of the least valuable in the New Testament. It was placed by the early Christians among the disputed writings; but there seems no reason

to doubt its genuineness. The chief interest in it arises from the writer's repeating a Jewish tradition about Michael, the archangel, contending with the devil for the body of Moses, and from his quoting a sentence out of an apocryphal book, said to be written by Enoch, the seventh from Adam.

The Book of Enoch is a Jewish book, written about the year B.C. 30. The writer lived far to the north of Palestine, as he tells us that at midsummer the day was exactly twice as long as the night. He may have belonged to the Jewish colony placed by Tiglath-Pileser, seven hundred years earlier, on the river Kur, which flows into the Caspian Sea, or to the colony placed among the Medes by Shalmaneser, the next king of Assyria.

The Epistle of Jude was not written to Christians in general, but to certain Jewish Christians, among whom the writer had been dwelling, and it is not improbable that these were natives either of Syria or Assyria, to whom he may have travelled as a missionary when driven away from Judea by the Jewish war. Its date we may suppose to be not earlier than A.D. 70.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

THIS Epistle is written to a particular church, to which the writer hopes soon to pay a second visit. It was to a church not in Judea, but consisting of Hebrews of the Dispersion, as it was written in Greek with quotations from the Greek Old Testament, which would be unsuitable if taken from the Hebrew. It was a church to whom Timothy was also known (xiii, 23). The writer was not an Apostle, but one of the apostolic fathers, who received their religion, not direct from the Saviour, but had *it confirmed by those that heard him* (ii, 3). This alone is enough to prove that Paul was not the writer, since the Apostle declares that he was taught, *not by man, but by revelation of Jesus Christ*. More

over, Paul's opinions are not quite the same as here expressed. Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, speaks of the merit of faith—saying that *Abraham's faith was counted for righteousness*—so strongly that James thought it necessary to remark that Abraham was justified by his works, not by his faith. And we see, in the Epistle to the Galatians, that the arguments of James made no change in Paul's opinions. But this writer to the Hebrews agrees for the most part with James, and only praises faith as a cause of good works, saying, that *by faith Abraham obeyed the command; by faith Noah prepared the ark*. Moreover Paul advises Titus to *avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and disputes, and strife about the Law*; but this writer does not think such inquiries idle, but thinks Jesus was, like Melchisedec, without a genealogy. He was of the class of believers mentioned in John vii, 27, who argued that when the Christ came no one would know whence he was.

It may be doubted whether this Epistle was written before or after the destruction of the temple in the year A. D. 70. Verbs in both tenses are used when it is spoken of. The writer says that the first covenant HAD ordinances of worship; and then adds that the priest *enters* the temple continually. But when he speaks of the imperfect work of the Levitical priesthood, and that Jesus is now the high-priest of a heavenly sanctuary and of a truer tabernacle, it certainly appears as if he was consoling himself and his readers for the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem. The political tyranny of the times did not allow him to express his own feelings about his nation's sufferings. Moreover, when in xii, 22-24, he speaks of "the heavenly Jerusalem," "the tens of thousands of angels," "the general assembly registered in heaven," "God the Judge of all," and "the spirits of just men made perfect," he seems to be referring to the Book of Revelation, and in particular to xiv, 1; iii, 12; xxi, 10; v, 11; xxii, 12; xxi, 27; vii, 9-14; which was written in the very year that Jerusalem was overthrown.

The Christians were already divided into three sects, more or less Judaizing, as the followers of Peter, of Apollos, and of Paul (1 Corinth. i, 12). And as this Epistle does not represent the opinions of Paul, so neither does it agree with those of Peter and James; but it contains many traces of that philosophical Judaism which was peculiar to the Alexandrian school, and it may be supposed to represent the opinions of Apollos of Alexandria and Barnabas of Cyprus. The island of Cyprus, of which place Barnabas was a native, had been for three centuries governed by the Ptolemies, and been united to Alexandria in literature and opinions; and the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Wisdom of Solomon in the Apocrypha, both represent the opinions of the Jewish Christians of the Alexandrian school.

ON THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF JOHN.

THESE two letters were written at the same time, and, no doubt, sent by same messenger. One is a public letter written to the church, and the other a private letter to Gaius, mentioning the writer's likings and dislikes in a way that he did not choose to use in the former. In both he says that he has many things to write which he will not trust to ink and paper; in both he calls himself the Elder; in both he says that he hopes shortly to follow his letter.

In the public letter the writer calls the church to which he is writing, "The Elect Lady and her Children;" and the church from which he is writing, "The Elect Sister." He shows his well-known views and opinions in charging his readers to love one another, and in warning them against the Antichrist, or the deceivers who deny that Jesus is the Christ come in the flesh.—He writes in displeasure; he gives very cold praise, because "some of thy children" are walking in truth. He adds, "Look to yourselves;" and, "Whoso transgresseth hath not God." If any one come with

any other doctrine, "receive him not into your house: for he that biddeth him hail is partaker of his evil deeds."

In the private letter to his friend Gaius, the writer mentions the other letter to the church, and explains what had pained him: "Diotrephes, who wisheth to be first among them, heedeth us not. Wherefore, if I come, I will make him remember the works which he doeth, prating against us with evil words." With the conduct of Demetrius, on the other hand, the writer is well satisfied.

The place from which these letters were written, and to which they were sent, is uncertain. As the Apostle John lived in his old age in Ephesus, they may have been written by him from that city. Gaius, to whom the private letter is written, was probably the friend of Paul, who entertained Paul when he was at Corinth. He was a wealthy man, in whose house the church of Corinth met for worship, as mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans. The Elect Lady and her Children, therefore, in the public letter, are probably the church of Corinth, and the Children of the Elect Sister who greet her are the church of Ephesus. On the other hand, as the writer styles himself not the Apostle, but the Elder, there seems no reason why we should not suppose that he was John the Presbyter or Elder, who lived and wrote while some of the apostles were yet alive, and is quoted by Eusebius.

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

THIS Epistle does not begin in the usual form with a salutation and the name of the writer, nor does it end with any greetings or messages or any mention of its bearer. It does not mention the persons to whom it was written; nor does it contain any advice which is fitted only for one church or body of Christians. Hence it has been called a General Epistle. But it seems more

reasonable to consider it a letter of advice written for the use of the Christian community in which the writer was dwelling. It was probably written for a community consisting chiefly of Pagan converts. The last words, "Children, keep yourselves from idols," would be wasted if addressed to Jews; and the writer never enforces his arguments by a passage from the Old Testament, for such would have been wasted on readers who had been born Pagans. Hence it was probably written in Western Asia, where the Apostle John is believed to have spent the latter years of his long life.

Both in its thoughts and in its words this Epistle is very like the two smaller Epistles, and also the Gospel of John. It is like the smaller Epistles in the force the writer gives to his command that his disciples should love one another; in the use of the word Antichrist, which is not elsewhere found; and in the meaning given to that word, namely, that it is not a rival Christ, but a deceiver who denies that Jesus is the Christ come in the flesh. This First Epistle is probably of a rather later date than the short Epistles; as the writer here uses the same words over and over again, and shows much of the talkativeness of an old man.

This Epistle agrees also most closely with John's Gospel in its doctrinal views. They both state as the chief proposition, that Jesus was the Christ to come in the flesh. The conversation of Jesus with Nicodemus, about a man being born of water and spirit (John iii, 5), is like the argument in the Epistle that Jesus came by water and blood; as also is the disputed, but asserted, statement in the Gospel, xix, 34, that blood and water both flowed from the Saviour's wound. The loving nature and gentle goodness of the spiritually-minded writer appear in the Gospel and Epistle alike; and the agreement in word and thought between the two writings is the best proof that they are by the same author. In the same way the disagreement between these writings and the Book of Revelation, proves that John, the author of that book, is a very different person from John the writer of the Gospel and Epistles.

This Epistle is remarkable for the well-known passage respecting the Trinity of the Godhead, which has been thrust into it by the Latin church. The Apostle is arguing that Jesus is the Son of God, and says (v, 7), "For there are three that bear witness, the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one;" and into the middle of this sentence, the Latin editors of the Bible, in disregard of the sense and argument, have thrust an assertion of the Trinity in Unity.

ON THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER.

THE voice of the early church and the internal evidence both pronounce strongly against the authenticity of this Epistle. It forms no part of the Syriac New Testament, though the writings of the Apostle Peter were likely to be particularly valued among the Syrian churches. The object of the writer betrays the time when it was written. The Apostle Paul had clearly declared his opinion that Christ would return to earth during the lives of men then living, particularly in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (xv, 23 and 51), and First Epistle to the Thessalonians (iv, 15-17). For this coming of the Lord the Christians had been anxiously waiting, and already scoffers had begun to reproach them with their false hopes: "Where is the promise of his coming, for since the patriarchs went to their rest, all things remain as they were from the beginning of the creation." To remove this objection, the writer of the Epistle reminds his readers that the delay is meant in kindness to us, so that we may all first come to repentance; that a thousand years with the Lord is not as with us, and that the day of the Lord will come upon us as a thief in the night (iii, 1-10).

But besides the Epistle of Paul already mentioned, the writer had read and particularly refers to the Epistle to the Philippians, chap. ii, 15-16, when he tells

his readers to endeavour to be found by Christ spotless and blameless, as our beloved brother Paul wrote to you. Moreover, Paul's Epistles had already been gathered together in a collection, as the writer says that he is acquainted with all of them; they were in the hands of many besides those to whom they were written and sent, as he says some of their readers found them hard to be understood; and they had even been added as part of the Bible, as he says they were classed with the other Scriptures (iii, 14-16).

He refers repeatedly to the Book of Revelation, when he says the heavens will pass away with a great noise, and the elements will melt with heat, and the earth and the works therein will be burned up (iii, 10; Rev. viii, 7, vi, 14), and that we should look for new heavens and a new earth (iii, 13; Rev. xi, 1).

In chap. ii, he borrows largely from the Epistle of Jude, in particular when speaking of the fallen angels being reserved in hell for judgment, and of good angels who would not do so much as bring a railing accusation against a sinner.

The writer, like the Apostle, whose name he adopts, belonged to the Judaizing party among the early Christians. He blames those who "promised freedom to them" from the Jewish law, being themselves, he says, slaves to Pagan corruptions. And he warns them against following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, which, we learn from the Book of Revelation, meant eating meat that had been sacrificed to idols, and intermarrying with Pagans.

The writer does not say from what place he writes, nor to what place, nor does he send any greetings, nor, as was usual, name his messenger; but he calls this his Second Epistle, though he describes the first very incorrectly, when he says, "In both I stir up your pure mind by reminding, that ye remember the words spoken beforehand by the holy prophets, and the command of our Apostles of the Lord and Saviour" (iii, 1-2). This Epistle can hardly have been written before the latter half of the second century.

ON THE REVELATION.

THE Apocalypse or Revelation of John begins in the form of a letter to the seven churches of Asia Minor. These were at Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. But after the greeting at the beginning it is no longer an Epistle, but a series of visions, mostly prophetic, like the Books of Daniel, Zechariah and Ezekiel; and from these books the writer has borrowed many of his images.

In the introductory vision (i, 9), Christ in his glory in the middle of seven candlesticks, with seven stars in his hand, orders the author to write to the preachers of the seven churches. To the church of Smyrna and the church of Philadelphia, he is to write in praise; to the others partly in blame. The praise is chiefly given for their Judaizing bias, and to the Ephesians for rejecting some teachers, who called themselves Apostles, meaning, perhaps, the Apostle Paul.

Christ then calls the writer up to himself (iv, 1), and shows him several other visions. In the first of these he sees the Almighty on a throne, with four-and-twenty elders on their thrones. Before the throne are the seven spirits of God; and around are four living creatures—one like a lion, one like a calf, one like a man, and one like an eagle. In the Almighty's hand is a book sealed with seven seals. A Lamb standing before the throne, as though slain, is alone found worthy to open the seals.

When the first seal is opened, he sees a conqueror, probably Peace, on a white horse.

When the second seal is opened, he sees War on a red horse.

When the third seal is opened, he sees Famine on a black horse.

When the fourth seal is opened, he sees Death on a pale horse, and Hell following after him.

When the fifth seal is opened, he sees under the altar the souls of the murdered saints.

When the sixth seal is opened, it is the great day of

God's wrath. The sun is darkened, the moon becomes as blood, and the stars fall from heaven; and he sees the great men of the earth hide themselves from judgment, while the heavens are rolled aside as a scroll, and the earth shaken as with an earthquake. But the wrath is delayed until the elect saints are sealed with God's seal. These are twelve thousand from each of the twelve Jewish tribes, from which list the tribe of Dan is omitted, while Levi is named to complete the number,

[The fearful signs in heaven are those mentioned in Luke xxi, 25, as to be seen before the siege of Jerusalem. The flight of the great men is spoken of in Matt. xxiv, 15-20, also in Josephus, Wars II, xx, 1.]

When the seventh seal is opened, he sees seven angels standing before God, each holding a trumpet; and they sound their trumpets in turn.

When the first angel sounded, a third part of the trees and green grass were burnt up.

When the second angel sounded, a third part of the sea was made blood, and a third part of the fish and of the ships were destroyed.

When the third angel sounded, a third part of the rivers became bitter and poisonous.

When the fourth angel sounded, a third part of the sun, moon, and stars were smitten.

When the fifth angel sounded, the bottomless pit was opened, when locusts came up therefrom like men prepared for battle, who tormented for five months every mortal who had not God's seal on his forehead.

[The locusts mean the Roman troops under the command of Cestius; and the five months of torment, are the time of his unsuccessful campaign against Jerusalem in A. D. 66. See Josephus, Wars, II, xix.]

When the sixth angel sounded, the four angels that were bound at the great river Euphrates were loosed with their armies, amounting to twenty thousand times ten thousand horsemen. They killed a third part of mankind. The holy city of Jerusalem was trod under foot, but this was only to continue for forty-two months. At this time the Saviour's two Witnesses were to prophesy, and to be put to death.

[The two witnesses seem meant for Simon and John, the two bold and unscrupulous generals, who defended Jerusalem against Titus and the Roman armies. Josephus, Wars, v, vi; Tacitus, v, 12.]

When the seventh angel sounded, God's kingdom came upon earth. The saints were rewarded, and the temple was opened in the heavens.

The next vision (chap. xii), is of a war in heaven between Michael and his angels, and the Dragon and his angels. The Dragon wished to devour the man child that had been born to the Woman clothed with fire, standing on the moon, with a crown of stars on her head. The Dragon and his angels were driven out of heaven, but the woman and her child had to hide themselves for forty-two months.

[The Dragon seems meant for Paganism, or the power of Rome, and the Child for Christianity, or rather the Christians, who had to hide themselves during the Roman war in Judea and the siege of Jerusalem.]

A Beast then rises out of the sea, having, like the Dragon, seven heads and ten crowned horns. He has the power of the Dragon given to him for forty-two months, to make war against the saints. And every man worships him, except those whose names are written in the book of life.

[The Beast seems meant for Vespasian, who began the Jewish war as Nero's lieutenant, and carried it on as emperor. The forty-two months must be reckoned from the beginning of the war, or perhaps the beginning of the siege. The ten horns are in part explained in chap. xvii, and are ten legions, or their generals, under the command of Vespasian.

There were in the war, according to Tacitus, eight legions, and according to the coins, parts of three more, stationed in the province. These were the following, which include the two brought by Titus:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Legio iii. Gallica . . . | Tacitus, Hist. ii, 74, iv, 39. |
| iv. Scythica | Ann. xv. 6, 7, 26. |
| v. Macedonica | Hist. v, 1. |

Legio vi. Ferrata	Ann. xv, 6.
viii. Augusta	on coins of Beryttus.
ix.	on coins of Ptolemais.
x.	Hist. v, 1.
xi.	on coins of Ptolemais.
xii. Fulminifera	Hist. v, 1.
xv. Apollinaris	Hist. v, 1.
xxii.	Hist. v, 1.]

One of the beast's heads is wounded as unto death, and his wound is then healed. [This seems to mean the attempt of Vitellius against Vespasian, which was successfully put down.]

A second Beast then rises out of the earth, with two horns. He is a deputy to the first beast. He causes everybody to have the mark of the first beast stamped on his right hand or on his forehead. And the mark of the beast is the number or the numeral letters of his name, Ch, X, F; or, according to other manuscripts, Ch, I, F.

[The second beast seems to be Titus, who came up by land out of Egypt to help his father. His two horns are the two Legions which he brought with him. (See Josephus, Bell. Jud. iii., 1, and Tacitus, Hist. v, 1; though they differ as to which were the legions.) When Tacitus (lib. v, 13) speaks of Vespasian and Titus as being darkly hinted at in the Jewish books, he was perhaps led by some report of the contents of this Book of Revelation. The requiring men to have marks pricked on their skin to prove they were not Jews, is explained in 3 Maccabees ii, 29, when it was enforced by Ptolemy Philopator. The numeral or initial letters of the beast's name do not suit Flavius Vespasianus Cæsar, as we should expect; but that they were meant for the first letters of the Emperor's name is made probable by our seeing that mode of pointing out the Emperors used in the Christian Sibylline Verses, an Alexandrian work of about that date.]

Then the hundred and forty-four thousand elect saints, who are followers of the Lamb, and have never

been married, sing before the throne (chap. xiv); and an angel proclaims that the hour of judgment is come, that the great Babylon is fallen. Another angel thrusts in his sickle to reap the harvest of mankind.

Seven angels then pour out the vials of God's wrath on the earth (chap. xvi). The first pours out a sore on all who worship the Beast. The second vial makes the sea into blood. The third vial makes the rivers into blood. The fourth vial is poured on the sun, which then scorches mankind. The fifth vial is poured on the throne of the Beast, and it darkens his kingdom. The sixth vial is poured on the Euphrates, and dries up its water. The seventh vial is poured out on the air, when thunder and lightning go forth, and a voice from heaven cries out, It is done.

Then it is explained (chap. xvii) that Babylon means the city on seven hills, or Rome. And the date of the vision is fixed at about A.D. 69, for "there are seven kings" or emperors; "five have fallen," viz. Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. "One is," viz. Vespasian, for in Judea he immediately followed Nero; there the short reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, were unknown. Then the seventh king is to continue a short time. [Thus the great day to which this part of the prophecy points was to take place within two reigns, which we may call forty years, from the time of writing, or A.D. 110]. The city is then to be overthrown on the rebellion of the ten horns. The wealth of the fallen city is next described, and her trade in metals, linen, spices, corn, cattle, slaves, and men's souls.

In the next vision (xix, 11), the Word of God is seen riding on a white horse. With the armies of heaven he overthrows the kings of the earth, and the Beast, and the False Prophet that wrought miracles in the Beast's presence; and he drives them into the lake of fire. The Dragon, or Satan, is then locked into the bottomless pit for a thousand years.

[The false prophet is Apollonius of Tyana, whose pretended miracles and friendship with Vespasian are described by Philostratus. His importance in the eyes

of the Pagans was such, that it quite explains his being here mentioned.]

The vision continues (xx, 4) with the first resurrection, when the elect saints live and reign with Christ for a thousand years. At the end of this millennium the rest of the dead rise in the second resurrection, when Satan also is loosed out of prison. Then the sea and hell give up their dead. Then the books are opened, and every man judged according to his works. Then is the second death for those whose names are not written in the book of life.

The last vision is of a new heaven, and a new earth, and a new Jerusalem, which is measured and described; which has no need of sun or moon, for the glory of God lightened it, and the Lamb was the lamp thereof.

[Such are the contents of this curious book. It has more of Hebrew in its style, and more grammatical faults in its language, than any other in the New Testament. It was certainly written during the siege of Jerusalem while the writer's thoughts were earnestly drawn towards that most dreadful struggle; and before the destruction of the temple, which in one vision the writer is ordered to measure (xi, 1). The writer's name was John; but his unpolished though learned language is wholly unlike the more pure and simple Greek of the writer of the Fourth Gospel, who has by some been thought the author. That earnest teacher of love to one another would hardly have expressed so great severity against his enemies. No other writer in the New Testament is so much of a Jew, or claims for the Jews, that "the sealed servants of God" were all to be pure from marriage, and to be found within the twelve tribes; no other writer makes Jesus a warrior on horseback, followed by the armies of heaven (xix, 11), and so little a teacher of meekness; no other writer describes the Almighty as in the form of a man sitting on a throne.

If this was written by the Apostle John, which the date well allows it to be, the Gospel and three Epistles bearing the name of John must have been either written or re-written by the later writer, John the Elder.]

ON THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

THE Temple was not a covered building, as the English word might lead us to suppose, but a holy place, which is the meaning of the Hebrew and Greek words. It included several courts, in one of which stood the covered building, or House of the Lord. The temple, that is, the walls to the courts and the House, was built by Solomon about the year B.C. 1010. After its first destruction by the Babylonians in the year B.C. 588, it was rebuilt by Zerubbabel and Ezra, about B.C. 535, with little or no change in its courts. After the second destruction it was rebuilt by Herod the Great, in B.C. 18, with more magnificence than before. Herod's Temple was destroyed by the Romans under Titus; and two Turkish mosques now stand within its holy area. But the shape of this remarkable plot of ground remains unchanged; even the foundations of the fortifications are as of old; and by the help of these and of the notices in Josephus and the Bible, we may attempt to restore the ground-plan.

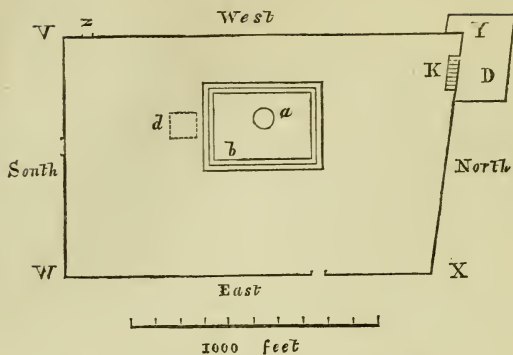
We must begin with the plan and measurement of the Hill of Moriah as it now is, and as we find them given in Mr. Bartlett's "Walks about Jerusalem," from Mr. Catherwood's survey.

V W is the south wall, 940 feet long, with the marks of a gate now closed.

W X. The east wall, 1,520 feet long, with a gate, through which a path leads, across the valley, to the Mount of Olives. The south-east corner has been built up from the valley to make the top of the hill level, while, for the same reason, the north-west corner has been cut down many feet below the original surface of the hill.

X Y. The north wall, 1,020 feet long. Beyond this is part of the city.

Y V. The west wall, 1,617 feet long. A narrow valley divides this from the city.



MR. CATHERWOOD'S PLAN OF THE TEMPLE.

b. A plot of ground, or rock, 15 feet high, 550 feet long, and 450 feet wide, near the middle of the hill. It is a paved platform mounted by flights of steps. On this stands the Turkish Mosque of Omar.

a. A round and flat piece of the rock, 5 feet high, and 60 feet across, now within the Mosque.

d. A plot of ground marked out as a garden. It is about 90 feet by 50.

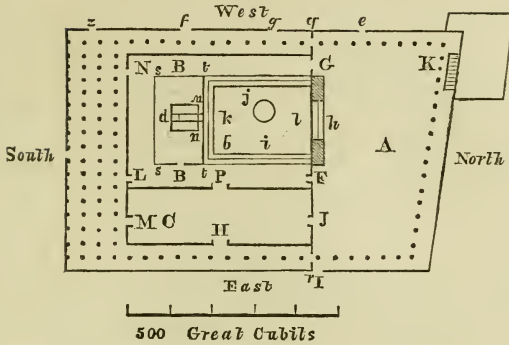
z. Ruins of an ancient bridge across the valley from the Temple to the city.

D. The Governor's house, built on ancient foundations, on the original hill-top, and thus many feet above the level of the court below.

K. A flight of steps cut in the face of the rock on which the Governor's house stands, and by which it is entered from the court below. These are taken from a drawing by Mr. Bonomi.

The first notice that we meet with in history respecting this plot of ground is even earlier than Solomon. Part of it was the threshing-floor of Araunah, which David bought of him, and then made use of as an altar for burnt offerings to the Lord (*See 2 Sam. chap. xxiv.*)

a We may suppose was the threshing-floor, the round piece of rocky ground, at the very top of the hill, most



ATTEMPTED RESTORATION OF THE PLAN.

suitable for David's altar, as being most easily to be seen by the surrounding multitude.

When Solomon built the House of the Lord, he so placed it that this holy altar stood in the middle of a court in front of it (1 Kings viii, 64). He probably copied the plan of some of the Egyptian temples, the simplest of which consisted of a covered building with a court in front surrounded by a wall, or colonnade. Such are the plans of the temples of Upper Egypt. In the Temple of Bubastis, in Lower Egypt, there was a wall surrounding the whole, so that the building stood not at one end of a court, as in the Theban temples, but in the middle of it.

Solomon's Temple, we shall see, in some respects resembled both of these. There was a court in front of the House, and a yet larger court which enclosed the House together with the inner court.

We may naturally suppose that David's altar was enclosed within a fenced court, to be used by the attending priests, and the shape of the ground leads us to conjecture its size. It was, probably, the plot marked *b* in Mr. Catherwood's plan. The court surrounding David's altar would of course be the court in front of the House of the Lord, when Solomon raised his building; and we shall hereafter see reasons for

thinking that the House stood on the south side of the court. We thus proceed to compare our plan with the notices left to us from the history of Solomon's reign, and we make the following additions to it:—

b is the Inner Court, which was walled with three rows of hewed stone and a row of cedar posts (1 Kings vi, 36). This was also called the Court of the Priests. (2 Chron. iv, 9).

d is the House of the Lord, 60 cubits long by 20 wide; or 90 feet by 30. (1 Kings vi, 2). It probably stood on the spot which is now the garden. In front of it, towards the north, is the Porch of the House, 20 cubits wide, or as wide as the House, and 10 deep (1 Kings vi, 3); and behind is the Oracle, or place of the ark. This was 20 cubits by 20. (1 Kings vi, 19–20). It held the cherubim and the two tables of the law. (1 Kings viii, 6–9). In the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is called the Holy of Holies, (ix, 3). On each side of the House are a number of small chambers round about the wall of the House. (1 Kings vi, 5). These did not open into the House.

h. The Porch of the Temple, with two square pillars, each standing on a base of 50 cubits by 30. (1 Kings vii, 6). The right-hand pillar was named Jachin, and the left pillar Boaz. (1 Kings vii, 21). These two pillars may be explained by the pillars in front of an Egyptian temple.

m n. The places of the two pillars which stood before the House, which were not the same as the two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, which stood before the Temple.

i. The place where the Levites stood, on the east side of the altar, when Solomon's new Temple was dedicated. (2 Chron. v, 12).

j. The place where Solomon may have kneeled on his raised platform, on the same occasion. It was probably opposite to the place of the priests. (2 Chron. vi, 12–13). At this spot, in later days, stood the treasure-chest, for the receipt of money for the repair and maintenance of the Temple. (2 Kings xii, 9).

k. The place where Zachariah the son of Barachiah

was slain, between the altar and the House. (Matt. xxiii, 35).

7. The place where the priests stood, in the reign of Ahaz, when they lamented and wept, between the porch and the altar. (Joel ii, 17). Here also, on the north side of the altar, King Ahaz placed the smaller brazen altar, when he removed it from its former place, between the altar and the House. (2 Kings xvi, 14).

A B B. The outer courts, in which stood the assembled people.

We now come to Ezekiel, who describes (chap. xl-xlii) a temple in a vision, by which he means to prophesy that the Temple of Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by the Babylonians, is to be rebuilt. He gives its measurements rather minutely. He makes use of the great cubit, which is a cubit and a hand-breadth in length, or, according to the Egyptian measure, $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches. He also uses the reed of six great cubits, or 10 feet 3 inches. But he was writing in banishment at a distance; and though his description may agree in its main features with the Temple which had lately been destroyed, yet we can have no certainty that he meant the measurements to be exact, even if he were acquainted with them.

Ezekiel distinguishes between the porch of the House (xl, 48) and the porch of the gate (xl, 39). This justifies our placing Solomon's porch at one end of the court, while the house is at the other.

He tells us that the altar was in front of the House (xl, 47). He says that the tables on which the people laid their offerings were in the porch of the gate, and, further, that this was the north gate of the court (xl, 35-43). This determines for us that the House was at the south end of the court.

Ezekiel's measure of the House, one hundred cubits long (xli, 13), agrees with that already quoted from the book of Kings, namely, 60 the house, 20 the porch in front, and 20 the oracle behind. His measure, however, of the inner court, which held the altar, 100 cubits long and 100 cubits broad (xl, 47), that is, 220 feet each way,

makes it rather less than half the natural plot of ground which we have given to this court. On the other hand, his measure of the outer court, 500 reeds long and 500 broad (xlii, 16-19), that is, 5,000 feet each way, is many times as large as the space allotted to it in our plan, which is about 500 great cubits; or 850 feet each way, instead of 500 reeds.

After the time of Solomon, but long before the time of Ezekiel, the Temple-hill was enclosed within strong walls, which formed part of the fortifications of the city. They were built before the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, mentioned in 2 Kings xviii. The natural shape of the ground, which falls on three sides, makes it certain that the foundations of these old walls are the same as those which are now remaining, and which are marked on the plan by the lines v w x y. Beyond these lines the outer court cannot have reached; and we must either give up the opinion that Ezekiel's measures were meant for the actual Temple, or believe that he wrote 500 cubits, instead of 500 reeds, in chap. xlii, 16-20.

After the Captivity, when the Jews had leave from the King of Persia to rebuild their Temple, in the first instance Zerubbabel was not allowed to rebuild the fortification walls, and again make it into a citadel, as it had been made after the time of Solomon. (Ezra iv, v). These walls were, however, soon afterwards rebuilt by Ezra. (Nehem. ii, 17; iv, 6; xi, 16). Ezra also made a change in the use of the building, which was called for by the religious jealousy which had grown up against the strangers in the city. He forbade the Gentiles to enter the outer court of the Temple with the Jews. They were required to stand in the space in front of the Temple, which was thus named the Court of the Gentiles. (Nehem. ix, 1-2). The steps to the house were now the place on which the priests stood to read the Law (Nehem. ix, 4), not as in the time of Joel, when they stood between the porch and the altar. That place was no longer the most convenient for their Jewish hearers.

After its second destruction, the Temple was built a third time by Herod. The House of the Lord was made rather larger than before. The walls of the fortifications, and of the courts, were built on the old foundations; but the whole was far more magnificent, with new cloisters and columns. Josephus describes it carefully; and with his description we must compare the notices about it in the New Testament.

A. The Court of the Gentiles, out of which Jesus drove the money-changers. (Matt. xxi, 12). The Pharisees, in contempt of the Gentiles, had allowed this court to be made common. Here the Saviour taught daily (xxvi, 55), and, as he was a Galilean, was probably never allowed to enter further. The Galilean apostles, when in Jerusalem, lived in fear of the Jews, or natives of Judea. (See John xx, 19). The walls round this court measured 3,600 feet; Josephus says they were six stadia, which is nearly the same (Wars, v, 5, 2).

q r. The middle wall of the partition, beyond which Jews only might pass. (Antiq. XV, xi, 5). Paul, speaking figuratively, said that Jesus had removed this wall. (Ephes. ii, 14). This was built in a more massive way than the other three sides of the Temple proper, so that with the fortified walls around the hill, it formed a fortress by itself, independent of the court of the Gentiles.

Thus in the Gospels, and by the enlightened Paul, the court of the Gentiles is called a part of the Temple. But it was not so before the time of Nehemiah, nor in the Acts of the Apostles; when Paul is accused of taking Greeks into the Temple, it meant that he took them beyond the middle wall. (Acts xxi, 28). So also the soldiers of Titus are said by Josephus to fight between the Castle and the Temple. Josephus was too strict a Jew to call the court of the Gentiles part of the holy place. (Wars, VI, ii, 6). In the book of Revelation, the doubt in the meaning of the word is acknowledged; but the writer does not wish the wall of partition to be removed. He says, "Rise, and

measure the Temple of God, and the court of the altar, and the courts of them that worship therein. But the court without the Temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given to the Gentiles." (Chap. xi, 1).

B B C. The courts into which Jews might enter. Women as well as men might enter the court *C*. (Josephus, *Antiq.* XV, xi, 5).

In the church of St. Clement in Rome, one of the oldest Christian churches, this arrangement of the courts seems to have been copied. There the raised enclosure for the priests, resembling our Court of the Altar, is not in the middle; the aisle on one side is wider than that on the other.

F G J. The three gates on the north side. (*Ibid.*)

L M N. The three gates on the south side (*Ibid.*)

By either of these gates the men could walk straight through the Temple from north to south, or from south to north, as directed in Ezekiel xlvi, 9.

H. The large gate through which men and women might both enter. It faced the east. (*Ibid.*) This may have been the Beautiful Gate, at which the beggar sat to ask alms. (Acts iii, 2). He probably sat where women passed as well as men. Josephus calls it the Corinthian Gate, and says that it was outside of the Temple proper (*Wars*, xv, 5, 3).

P. The second gate on the east side, through which the women might not pass (*Wars*, v, 5, 2).

M and J. The northern and southern gates into the courts of the women (*Wars* v, 5, 2).

D. The castle built by the Maccabees. (*Antiq.* XV, xi, 4). It was called by Herod the Castle of Antonia. On its foundations the Governor's house now stands. It was at the north-west corner of the Temple (*Wars*, v, 5, 8).

K. The castle steps, where Paul stood to speak to the people. (Acts xxi, 40). So he was carried by the soldiers across the court of the Gentiles, from *F* or *G*, the gate through which he was accused of taking Greeks.

I. The gate from the Mount of Olives, through which Jesus entered the Temple every morning during

the last Passover. (Luke xxi, 37). He there taught daily in the court of the Gentiles.

h. Solomon's porch, where the Apostles taught the people. (Acts v, 12.) This is particularly described in Ezekiel (chap. xl, 39-43), with the hooks and tables for the meat-offerings. It was then called the Porch of the Gate.

z. The gate which led from the king's palace, by a bridge over the valley, to the Temple, and through the royal cloisters. (Antiq. XV, xi, 5.)

e f g may be the three other gates on that side.

Herod's cloisters ran all round the walls with a single row of columns; they were 30 feet wide. At the south end they were called the royal cloisters, and were formed of three rows of columns.

If we now review the reasons for giving its size and shape to the Temple proper, exclusive of the court of the Gentiles, we remark that Josephus and Ezekiel both say that it was square; that it certainly stood within the fortification walls on the Temple-hill, so that it could not be larger than 900 feet square; and when we allow for the pavement, and the cloisters between this square inclosure and the fortifications, it may even have been less; and that Josephus says it was a *stadium*, or 610 feet square. Ezekiel, on the other hand, says that it was 500 reeds, or 5,000 feet square; but if we suppose that we ought to read 500 great cubits, it was 850 feet square. In our figure it is drawn about 900 feet square.

That the court of the altar was not surrounded by the square inclosure of the Temple, but at one end, seems meant by Josephus, who describes the courts on each side of the court of the altar, but mentions no space within the Temple and yet in front of that court. If it were otherwise, Gentiles could not have brought their offerings directly to the priests, as we see in Ezekiel was the case. And this arrangement leaves just the space needed for the royal cloisters on the south, and for the court of the Gentiles on the north.

Ezekiel, indeed, says (chap. xlvii, 1), that the front of the house was towards the east, which seems to contradict our view of the ground plan. But he adds, that this was the right side of the house, and that it was on the south of the altar; so it is not improbable that the east side of the house may have been the more ornamented front, while the north side was the architectural front.

There were also two other walls (perhaps *s t*), which placed the house within a court of its own, separated from the courts of the men and women. It was, perhaps, the court of the priests, called by Ezekiel the Inner Court (xl, 44). Herod, not being a priest, was excluded from three places—the court of the altar, the court of the priests, and the house of the Lord. (Antiq. XV, xi, 6.)

But it is possible that at times there may have been no division (*t-t*) between the court of the Altar and that in which the House of the Lord stood, as in Josephus alone is that division clearly marked. From 1 Kings vi, 36, 2 Chron. iv, 9, and Ezekiel xl, 44, we might suppose that one court, called either the Inner Court, the Court of the Priests, or the Court of the Altar, held within its bounds both the Altar and the House of the Lord.

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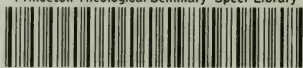
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